



Manetho

Complete Works

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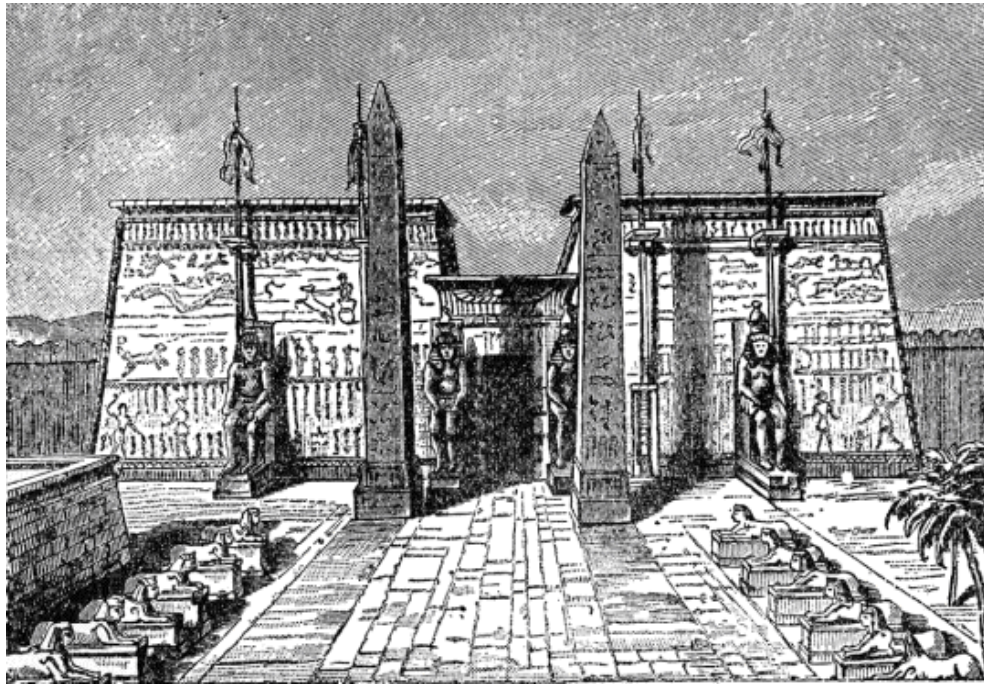
Manetho

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The Complete Works of
MANETHO



By Delphi Classics, 2018

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Complete Works of Manetho

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Contact: sales@delphiclassics.com



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The Complete Works of
MANETHO

(fl. 3rd century BC)



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Version 1

The Translations



Sebennytos, an ancient city of Lower Egypt, located on the Damietta branch of the Nile in the Delta; modern day Samannud — Manetho's birthplace

AEGYPTIACA



Translated by W. G. Waddell

Manetho was an Egyptian priest that flourished in the third century BC. He wrote one or more books in Greek, detailing the history and civilisation of his homeland. Although his complete original texts are now lost, important remains have survived, transmitted to us as fragments from several ancient authors. The most important of these writers are Josephus, who quotes long passages of discourse, and Eusebius and the Christian chronographer Africanus, who for the most part have preserved lists of Egyptian kings, grouped by “Dynasties”. For many centuries, before hieroglyphics could be read, Manetho’s writings, in spite of their mangled state, were one of the chief sources of information on Egyptian history. Following the decipherment of hieroglyphics in the nineteenth century, Manetho was superseded in favour of first-hand knowledge from the papyri and inscriptions from the tombs of Egypt.

Manetho is believed to have authored the *Aegyptiaca* at the request of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. Some commentators have suggested that *Aegyptiaca* was written as a competing account to Herodotus’ *Histories*, in order to provide a lacking national history for Egypt. The work is of great interest due to its chronology of the reigns of the ancient pharaohs. Organised chronologically and divided into three books, Manetho’s work was innovative due to its division of rulers into dynasties. The term “dynasty” is used to refer to a group of kings with a common origin, as Manetho introduces new dynasties whenever he detects discontinuity, whether geographical (Dynasty IV from Memphis, Dynasty V from

Elephantine) or genealogical (especially in Dynasty I, when he occasionally refers a successive pharaoh as the “son” of the previous to define what he means by “continuity”). Within the superstructure of a genealogical table, Manetho fills in the gaps with substantial narratives of the Pharaonic kings.

The earliest known mention of *Aegyptiaca* is by the Jewish historian Josephus in his work *Against Apion*, dated after AD 94. Before this, no extant text mentions the *Aegyptiaca* in at least 300 years, causing many to question its real date and authorship. The notion that an official and authoritative history of Egypt composed in Greek at the request of Ptolemy II Philadelphus could go unnoticed by professional scholars and Alexandrian librarians for centuries until Josephus is scarcely credible. The work may have instead been written in the Roman period, not long before it is first mentioned. Therefore, some scholars speculate that the real author was the historian Ptolemy of Mendes, an educated Greek born and raised in Egypt, who had decided to attribute his three-book history to Manetho in order to give it credibility.

The first Book opens with a brief biography of Manetho and an explanation of the purpose of the work. In the preamble the author states that the first Hermes who is identified as the god Thoth invented writing. The writings of this first Hermes were then translated into a new script called hieroglyphics by his son Hermes Trismegistus, who is the second Hermes. The books written by this second Hermes were later collected and arranged by his son, the god Agathodaemon. According to the author, Agathodaemon only finished his editorial work of arranging the “sacred books” written by his father Hermes Trismegistus after the accession of Ptolemy Philadelphus. It was only at this point that Manetho was given access to these sources, when he utilised them to write his own detailed history of Egypt in Greek for the reigning Ptolemaic king. The accession of Ptolemy II Philadelphus is considered by the author to be a major turning

point in Egypt's history as it was only during this king's reign that the god Agathodaemon completed editing the "sacred books" — a prerequisite for Manetho to compose a history of Egypt in Greek.

The author proceeds to discuss the earliest times in Egypt, listing the reigns of the gods and demigods and the spirits of the dead as kings of Egypt. Accordingly, there were seven god-kings, then four lines of demigods, and then the spirits of the dead (another class of demigods) but the number and their names are not preserved in the surviving fragments. The author does not transliterate the names of the gods, demigods, or the spirits of the dead, but provides the Greek equivalents by a convention that predates him: e.g. (Egyptian) Ptah = (Greek) Hephaestus; Ra = Helios; Shu, son of Ra = Sosis; Geb = Cronos; Asar = Osiris; Isis = Demeter; Set = Typhon; Horus = Orus; Thoth = the first Hermes; etc. Stories about each of these gods, and possibly others, most likely would have been given here. This may explain how syncretism developed between seemingly disparate religions.

As for the dynasties that followed the spirits of the dead, the author states that Egypt was ruled by five native or indigenous Egyptian tribes, and goes on to explain that the country was ruled by a total of thirty mortal dynasties prior to the Greek conquest by Alexander the Great. It is believed that Book One discussed the first eleven dynasties, which now fall into the periods of history that Egyptologists refer to as the Old Kingdom, the First Intermediate Period and the early Middle Kingdom.

The second Book covered Dynasties XII–XVIII in the first edition, grouping the kings of Dynasty XIX in with Dynasty XVIII. The book detailed the end of the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period, the Hyksos invasion, and then their expulsion and the establishment of the New Kingdom by Ahmose I, the founder of Dynasty XVIII. Book Two was also of particular interest to Josephus, where he equated the

Hyksos or “shepherd-kings” with the ancient Israelites that made their famous exodus out of Egypt.

The final Book continued with the “XIXth dynasty” and concluded with the “XXXth dynasty”. The Saite Renaissance occurs in the “XXVth dynasty, while the “XXVIth dynasty” involves the Persian Anshanite rule of Cambyses and then Barziya, sons of Cyrus the Great. Barziya was denounced as a Magian (the Magians were a tribe of Medes) fraud by his successor who overthrew him. The numbering system for the dynasties used in the first edition was revised by the author in subsequent editions, yet he almost certainly concluded Book Three with Darius III.



A bust depicting Ptolemy II Philadelphus (309–246 BC)

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The romanticised engraving of Flavius Josephus appearing in William Whiston's translation of his works

BOOK I

Fr. 1 (from the Armenian Version of Eusebius, Chronica). Dynasties of Gods, Demigods, and Spirits of the Dead.

From the *Egyptian History* of Manetho, who composed his account in three books. These deal with the Gods, the Demigods, the Spirits of the Dead, and the mortal kings who ruled Egypt down to Darius, king of the Persians.

1. The first man (or god) in Egypt is Hephaestus, who is also renowned among the Egyptians as the discoverer of fire. His son, Helios (the Sun), was succeeded by Sôsis; then follow, in turn, Cronos, Osiris, Typhon, brother of Osiris, and lastly Orus, son of Osiris and Isis. These were the first to hold sway in Egypt. Thereafter, the kingship passed from one to another in unbroken succession down to Bydis (Bites) through 13,900 years. The year I take, however, to be a lunar one, consisting, that is, of 30 days: what we now call a month the Egyptians used formerly to style a year.

2. After the Gods, Demigods reigned for 1255 years, and again another line of kings held sway for 1817 years: then came thirty more kings of Memphis, reigning for 1790 years; and then again ten kings of This, reigning for 350 years.

3. There followed the rule of Spirits of the Dead and Demigods, for 5813 years.

4. The total [of the last five groups] amounts to 11,000 years, these however being lunar periods, or months. But, in truth, the whole rule of which the Egyptians tell — the rule of Gods, Demigods, and Spirits of the Dead — is reckoned to have comprised in all 24,900 lunar years, which make 2206 solar years.

5. Now, if you care to compare these figures with Hebrew chronology, you will find that they are in perfect harmony. Egypt is called Mestraïm by the Hebrews; and Mestraïm lived <not> long after the Flood. For after the

Flood, Cham (or Ham), son of Noah, begat Aegyptus or Mestraïm, who was the first to set out to establish himself in Egypt, at the time when the tribes began to disperse this way and that. Now the whole time from Adam to the Flood was, according to the Hebrews, 2242 years.

6. But, since the Egyptians claim by a sort of prerogative of antiquity that they have, before the Flood, a line of Gods, Demigods, and Spirits of the Dead, who reigned for more than 20,000 years, it clearly follows that these years should be reckoned as the same number of months as the years recorded by the Hebrews: that is, that all the months contained in the Hebrew record of years, should be reckoned as so many lunar years of the Egyptian calculation, in accordance with the total length of time reckoned from the creation of man in the beginning down to Mestraïm. Mestraïm was indeed the founder of the Egyptian race; and from him the first Egyptian dynasty must be held to spring.

7. But if the number of years is still in excess, it must be supposed that perhaps several Egyptian kings ruled at one and the same time; for they say that the rulers were kings of This, of Memphis, of Saïs, of Ethiopia, and of other places at the same time. It seems, moreover, that different kings held sway in different regions, and that each dynasty was confined to its own nome: thus it was not a succession of kings occupying the throne one after the other, but several kings reigning at the same time in different regions. Hence arose the great total number of years. But let us leave this question and take up in detail the chronology of Egyptian history

(Continued in Fr. 7(*b*).)

Fr. 2 (from Syncellus)

Thereafter Manetho tells also of five Egyptian tribes which formed thirty dynasties, comprising those whom they call Gods, Demigods, Spirits of the Dead, and mortal men. Of these Eusebius, “son” of Pamphilus, gives the following account in his *Chronica* : “Concerning Gods, Demigods, Spirits of the Dead, and mortal kings, the Egyptians have a long series of foolish myths. The most ancient Egyptian kings, indeed, alleged that their years were lunar years consisting of thirty days, whereas the Demigods who succeeded them gave the name hóroi to years which were three months long.” So Eusebius wrote with good reason, criticizing the Egyptians for their foolish talk; and in my opinion Panodôrus is wrong in finding fault with Eusebius here, on the ground that Eusebius failed to explain the meaning of the historians, while Panodôrus thinks he himself succeeds by a somewhat novel method, as follows:

“From the creation of Adam, indeed, down to Enoch, *i.e.* to the general cosmic year 1282, the number of days was known in neither month nor year; but the Egregori (or ‘Watchers’), who had descended to earth in the general cosmic year 1000, held converse with men, and taught them that the orbits of the two luminaries, being marked by the twelve signs of the Zodiac, are composed of 360 parts. Observing the moon’s orbit which is nearer the earth, smaller, and more conspicuous, as it has a period of thirty days, men decided that it should be reckoned as a year, since the orbit of the sun also was filled by the same twelve signs of the Zodiac with an equal number of parts, 360. So it came to pass that the reigns of the Gods who ruled among them for six generations in six dynasties were reckoned in years each consisting of a lunar cycle of thirty days. The total in lunar years is 11,985, or 969 solar years. By adding these to the 1058 solar years of the period before their reign, they reach the sum total of 2027 years.” Similarly,

in the two dynasties of nine Demigods, — these being regarded as real, although they never existed, — Panodôrus strives to make up 214½ years out of 858 hóroi (periods of three months) or tropoi, so that with the 969 years they make, he says, 1183½, and these, when added to the 1058 years from the time of Adam to the reign of the Gods, complete a total of 2242 years down to the Flood.

Thus Panodôrus exerts himself to show that the Egyptian writings against God and against our divinely inspired Scriptures are really in agreement with them. In this he criticizes Eusebius, not understanding that these arguments of his, which are incapable of proof or of reasoning, have been proved against himself and against truth, since indeed . . . neither Babylon nor Chaldea was ruled by kings before the Flood, nor was Egypt before Mestrem, and in my opinion it was not even inhabited before that time. . . .

Fr. 3 (from Syncellus)

On the Antiquity of Egypt

Manetho of Sebennytus, chief priest of the accursed temples of Egypt, who lived later than Bêrôssos in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, writes to this Ptolemy, with the same utterance of lies as Bêrôssos, concerning six dynasties or six gods who never existed: these, he says, reigned for 11,985 years. The first of them, the god Hêphaestus, was king for 9000 years. Now some of our historians, reckoning these 9000 years as so many lunar months, and dividing the number of days in these 9000 lunar months by the 365 days in a year, find a total of $727\frac{3}{4}$ years. They imagine that they have attained a striking result, but one must rather say that it is a ludicrous falsehood which they have tried to pit against Truth.

The First Dynasty of Egypt

1. Hêphaestus reigned for $727\frac{3}{4}$ years.
2. Hêlios (the Sun), son of Hêphaestus, for $80\frac{1}{6}$ years.
3. Agathodaemôn, for $56\frac{7}{12}$ years.
4. Cronos, for $40\frac{1}{2}$ years.
5. Osiris and Isis, for 35 years.
6. Typhon, for 29 years.

Demigods:

7. Ôrus, for 25 years.
8. Arês, for 23 years.
9. Anubis, for 17 years.
10. Hêraclês, for 15 years.

11. Apollô, for 25 years.
12. Ammôn, for 30 years.
13. Tithoês, for 27 years.
14. Sôsus, for 32 years.
- 15 Zeus, for 20 years.

Fr. 4 (from Excerpta Latina Barbari)

In the kingdom of Egypt we have the oldest of all kingdoms, and we are minded to record its beginning, as it is given by Manetho. First, I shall put down as follows the reigns of the Gods, as recorded by the Egyptians. Some say that the god Hêphaestus reigned in Egypt for 680 years; after him, Sol [Hêlios, the Sun], son of Hêphaestus, for 77 years: next, Sosinosiris [Sôsis and Osiris], for 320 years: then Orus the Ruler, for 28 years; and after him, Typhon, for 45 years. Total for the reigns of the Gods, 1550 years.

Next come the reigns of the Demigods, as follows first, Anubes for 83 years; then after him, Amusis, some say, was king. About him, Apiôn the grammarian, who composed a history of Egypt, explained that he lived in the time of Inachus who was king at the founding of Argos . . . for 67 years.

I. Thereafter he [Manetho] gave an account of the kings who were Spirits of the Dead, calling them also Demigods, . . . who reigned for 2100 years: he called them “very brave” (Heroes).

II. Mineus and seven of his descendants reigned for 253 years.

III. Bochus and eight other kings reigned for 302 years.

IV. Necherocheus and seven other kings for 214 years.

V. Similarly seventeen other kings for 277 years.

VI. Similarly twenty-one other kings for 258 years.

VII. Othoi and seven other kings for 203 years.

VIII. Similarly fourteen other kings for 140 years.

IX. Similarly twenty other kings for 409 years.

X. Similarly seven other kings for 204 years.

Here ends the First Book of Manetho, which contains a period of 2100 years.

XI. A dynasty of kings of Diospolis, for 60 years.

XII. A dynasty of kings of Bubastus, for 153 years.

XIII. A dynasty of kings of Tanis, for 184 years.

XIV. A dynasty of kings of Sebennytus, for 224 years.

XV. A dynasty of kings of Memphis, for 318 years.

XVI. A dynasty of kings of Héliopolis, for 221 years.

XVII. A dynasty of kings of Hermupolis, for 260 years.

The Second Book continues the record down to the Seventeenth Dynasty, and comprises 1520 years. These are the Egyptian dynasties.

Fr. 5 (from the Chronicle of Malalas)

[After recording the reigns of Hêphaestus (1680 days), Hêlios (4477 days), Sôsis, Osiris, Hôrus, and Thulis, Malalas adds:]

These ancient reigns of early Egyptian kings are recorded by Manetho, and in his writings it is stated that the names of the five planets are given in other forms: Cronos [Saturn] they used to call the shining star; Zeus [Jupiter], the radiant star [Phaethôn]; Arês [Mars], the fiery star; Aphroditê [Venus], the fairest; Hermês [Mercury], the glittering star. These names were later explained by the wise Sôtatês [? Sôtadês or Palaephatus].

The first king of Egypt belonged to the tribe of Cham [Ham], Noah's son; he was Pharaôh, who was also called Narachô.

Now, the ancient reigns in Egypt before King Narachô were set forth by the wise Manetho, as has already been mentioned.

Fr. 6 (from Syncellus)

Since a knowledge of the periods of the Egyptian dynasties from Mestraïm down to Nectanabô is on many occasions needful to those who occupy themselves with chronological investigations, and since the dynasties taken from Manetho's *History* are set forth by ecclesiastical historians with discrepancies in respect both to the names of the kings and the length of their reigns, and also as to who was king when Joseph was governor of Egypt, and in whose reign thereafter Moses, — he who saw God, — led the Hebrews in their exodus from Egypt, I have judged it necessary to select two of the most famous recensions and to set them side by side — I mean the accounts of Africanus and of the later Eusebius, the so-called “son” of Pamphilus, — so that with proper application one may apprehend the opinion which approaches nearest to Scriptural truth. It must, above all, be strictly understood that the Africanus increases by 20 years the period from Adam to the Flood, and instead of 2242 years he makes it out to be 2262 years, which appears to be incorrect. On the other hand, Eusebius keeps to the sound reckoning of 2242 years in agreement with Scripture. In regard to the period from the Flood down to Abraham and Moses, both have gone astray by 130 years belonging to the second Caïnan, son of Arphaxad, even one generation, the thirteenth, from Adam, as it is recorded by the divine evangelist Luke. But Africanus, in the 20 years which he added between Adam and the Flood, anticipated this; and in the period of Caïnan and his successors, only 110 years remain. Hence, down to the first year of Abraham he reckoned 3202 years; but Eusebius, completely omitting those 130 years, gave 3184 years as far as Abraham's first year.

Dynasty I

According to Africanus

Here is the account which Africanus gives of the dynasties of Egypt [pamphlet the Flood].

1. In succession to the spirits of the Dead, the Demigods, — the first royal house numbers eight kings, the first of whom Mênês of This reigned for 62 years. He was carried off by a hippopotamus and perished.
2. Athôthis, his son, for 57 years. He built the palace at Memphis; and his anatomical works are extant, for he was a physician.
3. Kenkenês, his son, for 31 years.
4. Uenephês, his son, for 23 years. In his reign a great famine seized Egypt. He erected the pyramids near Kôchômê.
5. Usaphaidos, his son, for 20 years.
6. Miebidos, his son, for 26 years.
7. Semempsês, his son, for 18 years. In his reign a very great calamity befell Egypt.
8. Biênechês, his son, for 26 years.

Total, 253 years.

Eusebius also sets out the details of the First Dynasty in much the same way as Africanus.

Fr. 7 (a) (from Syncellus). According to Eusebius.

Here is the account which Eusebius gives of the Egyptian dynasties [after the Flood].

In succession to the Spirits of the Dead and the Demigods, the Egyptians reckon the First Dynasty to consist of eight kings. Among these was Mênês, whose rule in Egypt was illustrious. I shall record the rulers of each race from the time of Mênês; their succession is as follows:

1. Mênês of This, with his [17, or in another copy] 7 descendants, — the king called Mên by Herodotus, — reigned for 60 years. He made a foreign expedition and won renown, but was carried off by a hippopotamus.
2. Athôthis, his son, ruled for 27 years. He built the palace at Memphis; he practised medicine and wrote anatomical books.
3. Kenkenês, his son, for 39 years.
4. Uenephês, for 42 years. In his reign famine seized the land. He built the pyramids near Kôchôme.
5. Usaphaïs, for 20 years.
6. Niebaïs, for 26 years.
7. Semempsês, for 18 years. In his reign there were many portents and a very great calamity.
8. Ubienthês, for 26 years.

The total of all reigns, 252 years.

(b) Armenian Version of Eusebius.

In succession to the Spirits of the Dead and the Demigods, the Egyptians reckon the First Dynasty to consist of eight kings. The first of these was Mênês, who won high renown in the government of his kingdom. Beginning with him, I shall carefully record the royal families one by one: their succession in detail is as follows:

Mênês of This (whom Herodotus named Min) and his seven descendants. He reigned for 30 years, and advanced with his army beyond the frontiers of his realm, winning renown by his exploits. He was carried off by a hippopotamus god (?).

Athothis, his son, held the throne for 27 years. He built for himself a royal palace at Memphis, and also practised the art of medicine, writing books on the method of anatomy.

Cencenes, his son, for 39 years.

Vavenephis, for 42 years. In his time famine seized the land. He reared pyramids near the town of Cho.

Usaphaïs, for 20 years.

Niebaïs, for 26 years.

Mempses, for 18 years. In his reign many portents and a great pestilence occurred.

Vibenthis, for 26 years.

Total for the dynasty, 252 years.

Dynasty II

Fr. 8 (from Syncellus). According to Africanus.

The Second Dynasty consists of nine kings of This. The first was Boêthos, for 38 years. In his reign a chasm opened at Bubastus, and many perished.

2. Kaiechôs, for 39 years. In his reign the bulls, Apis at Memphis and Mnevis at Heliopolis, and the Mendesian goat were worshipped as gods.

3. Binôthris, for 47 years. In his reign it was decided that women might hold the kingly office.

4. Tlas, for 17 years.

5. Sethenês, for 41 years.

6. Chairês, for 17 years.

7. Nephercherês, for 25 years. In his reign, the story goes, the Nile flowed blended with honey for 11 days.

8. Sesôchris, for 48 years: his stature was 5 cubits 3 palms.

9. Chenerês, for 30 years.

Total, 302 years.

Total for the First and Second Dynasties [after the Flood], 555 years, according to the second edition of Africanus.

Fr. 9 (from Syncellus). According to Eusebius.

The Second Dynasty consisted of nine kings. First came Bôchos, in whose reign a chasm opened at Bubastus, and many perished.

He was succeeded by Kaichôos (or Chôos), in whose time Apis and Mnevis and also the Mendesian goat were worshipped as gods.

3. Biophis, in whose reign it was decided that women also might hold the kingly office. In the reigns of the three succeeding kings, no notable event occurred.

7. In the seventh reign, as the story goes, the Nile flowed blended with honey for 11 days.

8. Next. Sesôchris was king for 48 years: the greatness of his stature is said to have been 5 cubits 3 palms.

9. In the ninth reign there happened no event worthy of mention. These kings ruled for 297 years.

Total for the First and Second Dynasties, 549 years, according to the recension of Eusebius.

Fr. 10 Armenian Version of Eusebius.

The Second Dynasty consisted of nine kings.

First came Bôchus, in whose reign a huge hole opened at Bubastus, and swallowed up many persons.

He was succeeded by Cechous, in whose time Apis and Mnevis and the Mendesian goat were worshipped as gods.

Next came Biophis, in whose reign it was decreed by law that women might hold the royal office.

In the reigns of the three succeeding kings, no notable event occurred.

Under the seventh king fabulists tell how the river Nile flowed with honey as well as water for 11 days.

Next, Sesochris ruled for 48 years: he is said to have been 5 cubits high and 3 palms broad.

Finally, under the ninth king no memorable event occurred.

These kings reigns for 297 years.

Dynasty III

Fr. 11 (from Syncellus). The Account of Africanus.

The Third Dynasty comprised nine kings of Memphis.

1. Necherôphês, for 28 years. In his reign the Libyans revolted against Egypt, and when the moon waxed beyond reckoning, they surrendered in terror.

2. Tosorthros, for 29 years. <In his reign lived Imuthês,> who because of his medical skill has the reputation of Asclepios among the Egyptians, and who was the inventor of the art of building with hewn stone. He also devoted attention to writing.

3. Tyreis (or Tyris), for 7 years.

4. Mesôchris, for 17 years.

5. Sôÿphis, for 16 years.

6. Tosertasis, for 19 years.

7. Achês, for 42 years.

8. Sêphuris, for 30 years.

9. Kerpherês, for 26 years.

Total, 214 years.

Total for the first three dynasties, according to Africanus, 769 years.

Fr. 12 (a) (from Syncellus). According to Eusebius.

The Third Dynasty consisted of eight kings of Memphis:

1. Necherôchis, in whose reign the Libyans revolted against Egypt, and when the moon waxed beyond reckoning, they surrendered in terror.
2. He was succeeded by Sesorthos . . . : he was styled Asclepios in Egypt because of his medical skill. He was also the inventor of the art of building with hewn stone, and devoted attention to writing as well.

The remaining six kings achieved nothing worthy of mention. These eight kings reigned for 198 years.

Total for the first three dynasties, according to Eusebius, 747 years.

(b) Armenian Version of Eusebius.

The Third Dynasty consisted of eight kings of Memphis:

Necherochis, in whose reign the Libyans revolted against Egypt: later when the moon waxed unseasonably, they were terrified and returned to their allegiance.

Next came Sosorthus . . . : he was styled Aesculapius by the Egyptian because of his medical skill. He was also the inventor of building with hewn stone; and in addition he devoted care to the writing of books.

The six remaining kings did nothing worthy of mention. The reigns of the whole dynasty amount to 197 years.

Dynasty IV

Fr. 14 (from Syncellus). According to Africanus.

The Fourth Dynasty comprised eight kings of Memphis, belonging to a different line:

1. Sôris, for 29 years.
2. Suphis [I], for 63 years. He reared the Great Pyramid, which Herodotus says was built by Cheops. Suphis conceived a contempt for the gods: he also composed the Sacred Book, which I acquired in my visit to Egypt because of its high renown.
3. Suphis [II], for 66 years.
4. Mencherês, for 63 years.
5. Ratoisês, for 25 years.
6. Bicheris, for 22 years.
7. Sebercherês, for 7 years.
8. Thamphthis, for 9 years.

Total, 277 years.

Total for the first four dynasties [after the Flood], 1046 years according to Africanus.

Fr. 15 (from Syncellus). According to Eusebius.

The Fourth Dynasty comprised seventeen kings of Memphis belonging to a different royal line.

Of these the third was Suphis, the builder of the Great Pyramid, which Herodotus says was built by Cheops. Suphis conceived a contempt for the gods, but repenting of this, he composed the Sacred Book, which the Egyptians hold in high esteem.

Of the remaining kings no achievement worthy of mention has been recorded.

This dynasty reigned for 448 years.

Total for the first four dynasties [after the Flood], 1195 years according to Eusebius.

Fr. 16 Armenian Version of Eusebius.

The Fourth Dynasty consisted of seventeen kings of Memphis belonging to a different royal line. The third of these kings, Suphis, was the builder of the Great Pyramid, which Herodotus declares to have been built by Cheops. Suphis behaved arrogantly towards the gods themselves: then, in penitence, he composed the Sacred Book in which the Egyptians believe they possess a great treasure. Of the remaining kings nothing worthy of mention is recorded in history. The reigns of the whole dynasty amount to 448 years.

Dynasty V

Fr. 18 (from Syncellus). According to Africanus.

The Fifth Dynasty was composed of eight kings of Elephantine:

1. Usercherês, for 28 years.
2. Sephrês, for 13 years.
3. Nephhercherês, for 20 years.
4. Sisirês, for 7 years.
5. Cherês, for 20 years.
6. Rathurês, for 44 years.
7. Mencherês, for 9 years.
8. Tancherês (? Tatcherês), for 44 years.
9. Onnus, for 33 years.

Total, 248 years.

Along with the aforementioned 1046 years of the first four dynasties, this amounts to 1294 years.

Fr. 19 (a) (from Syncellus). According to Eusebius.

The Fifth Dynasty consisted of thirty-one kings of Elephantine. Of these the first was Othoês, who was murdered by his bodyguard.

The fourth king, Phiôps, succeeding when six years old, reigned until his hundredth year. Thus, along with the aforementioned 1195 years of the first four dynasties, this amounts to 1295 years.

(b) Armenian Version of Eusebius.

The Fifth Dynasty consisted of thirty-one kings of Elephantine. Of these the first was Othius, who was killed by his attendants. The fourth king was Phiôps, who held the royal office from his sixth right down to his hundredth year.

Dynasty VI

Fr. 20 (from Syncellus). According to Africanus.

The Sixth Dynasty consisted of six kings of Memphis:

1. Othoês, for 30 years: he was murdered by his bodyguard.
2. Phius, for 53 years.
3. Methusuphis, for 7 years.
4. Phiôps, who began to reign at the age of six, and continued until his hundredth year.
5. Menthesuphis, for 1 year.
6. Nitôcris, the noblest and loveliest of the women of her time, of fair complexion, the builder of the third pyramid, reigned for 12 years.

Total, 203 years. Along with the aforementioned 1294 years of the first five dynasties, this amounts to 1497 years.

Fr. 21 (a) (from Syncellus). According to Eusebius.

The Sixth Dynasty.

There was a queen Nitôcris, the noblest and loveliest of the women of her time; she had a fair complexion, and is said to have built the third pyramid.

These rulers (or this ruler) reigned for three years: in another copy, 203 years. Along with the aforementioned 1295 years of the first five dynasties, this amounts to 1498 years.

(Syncellus adds:) It must be noted how much less accurate Eusebius is than Africanus in the number of kings he gives, in the omission of names, and in dates, although he practically repeats the account of Africanus in the same words.

(b) Armenian Version of Eusebius.

The Sixth Dynasty. There was a queen Nitôcris, braver than all the men of her time, the most beautiful of all the women, fair-skinned with red cheeks. By her, it is said, the third pyramid was reared, with the aspect of a mountain.

The united reigns of all the kings amount to 203 years.

Dynasty VII

Fr. 23 (from Syncellus). According to Africanus.

The Seventh Dynasty consisted of seventy kings of Memphis, who reigned for 70 days.

Fr. 24 (a) (from Syncellus). According to Eusebius.

The Seventh Dynasty consisted of five kings of Memphis, who reigned for 75 days.

(b) Armenian Version of Eusebius.

The Seventh Dynasty consisted of five kings of Memphis, who held sway for 75 days.

Dynasty VIII

Fr. 25 (from Syncellus). According to Africanus.

The Eighth Dynasty consisted of twenty-seven kings of Memphis, who reigned for 146 years. Along with the aforementioned reigns, this amounts to 1639 years for the first eight dynasties.

Fr. 25 (a) (from Syncellus). According to Eusebius.

The Eighth Dynasty consisted of five kings of Memphis, who reigned for 100 years. Along with the aforementioned reigns, this amounts to 1598 years for the first eight dynasties.

(b) Armenian Version of Eusebius.

The Eighth Dynasty consisted of five kings of Memphis, whose rule lasted for 100 years.

Dynasty IX

Fr. 27 (from Syncellus). According to Africanus.

The Ninth Dynasty consisted of nineteen kings of Hêracleopolis, who reigned for 409 years. The first of these, King Achthoês, behaving more cruelly than his predecessors, wrought woes for the people of all Egypt, but afterwards he was smitten with madness, and was killed by a crocodile.

Fr. 28 (a) (from Syncellus). According to Eusebius.

The Ninth Dynasty consisted of four kings of Hêracleopolis, who reigned for 100 years. The first of these, King Achthô ês, behaving more cruelly than his predecessors, wrought woes for the people of all Egypt, but afterwards he was smitten with madness, and was killed by a crocodile.

(b) Armenian Version of Eusebius.

The Ninth Dynasty consisted of four kings of Heracleopolis, reigning for 100 years. The first of these, King Ochthôis, was more cruel than all his predecessors, and visited the whole of Egypt with dire disasters. Finally, he was seized with madness and devoured by a crocodile.

Dynasty X

Fr. 29 (from Syncellus). According to Africanus.

The Tenth Dynasty consisted of nineteen kings of Hêracleopolis, who reigned for 185 years.

Fr. 30 (a) (from Syncellus). According to Eusebius.

The Tenth Dynasty consisted of nineteen kings of Hêracleopolis, who reigned for 185 years.

(b) Armenian Version of Eusebius.

The Tenth Dynasty consisted of nineteen kings of Hêracleopolis, who reigned for 185 years.

Dynasty XI

Fr. 31 (from Syncellus). According to Africanus.

The Eleventh Dynasty consisted of sixteen kings of Diospolis [or Thebes], who reigned for 43 years. In succession to these, Ammenemês ruled for 16 years.

Here ends the First Book of Manetho.

Total for the reigns of 192 kings, 2300 years 70 days.

Fr. 32 (a) (from Syncellus). According to Eusebius.

The Eleventh Dynasty consisted of sixteen kings of Diospolis [or Thebes], who reigned for 43 years. In succession to these, Ammenemês ruled for 16 years.

Here ends the First Book of Manetho.

Total for the reigns of 192 kings, 2300 years 79 days.

(b) Armenian Version of Eusebius.

The Eleventh Dynasty consisted of sixteen kings of Diospolis [or Thebes], who reigned for 43 years. In succession to these, Ammenemes ruled for 16 years.

Here ends the First Book of Manetho.

Total for the reigns of 192 kings, 2300 years.

BOOK II

Dynasty XII

Fr. 34 (from Syncellus). According to Africanus.

From the Second Book of Manetho.

The Twelfth Dynasty consisted of seven kings of Diospolis.

1. Sesonchosis, son of Ammanemês, for 46 years.
2. Ammanemês, for 38 years: he was murdered by his own eunuchs.
3. Sesôstris, for 48 years: in nine years he subdued the whole of Asia, and Europe as far as Thrace, everywhere erecting memorials of his conquest of the tribes. Upon *stelae* [pillars] he engraved for a valiant race the secret parts of a man, for an ignoble race those of a woman. Accordingly he was esteemed by the Egyptians as the next in rank to Osiris.
4. Lacharês (Lamarês), for 8 years: he built the Labyrinth in the Arsinoïte nome as his own tomb.
5. Amerês, for 8 years.
6. Ammenemês, for 8 years.
7. Scemiophris, his sister, for 4 years.

Total, 160 years.

Fr. 35 (from Syncellus). According to Eusebius.

From the Second Book of Manetho.

The twelfth Dynasty consisted of seven kings of Diospolis. The first of these, Sesonchosis, son of Ammenemês, reigned for 46 years.

1. Ammanemês, for 38 years: he was murdered by his own eunuchs.

2. Sesôstris, for 48 years: he is said to have been 4 cubits 3 palms 2 fingers' breadths in stature. In nine years he subdued the whole of Asia, and Europe as far as Thrace, everywhere erecting memorials of his conquest of the tribes. Upon *stelae* [pillars] he engraved for a valiant race the secret parts of a man, for an ignoble race those of a woman. Accordingly he was esteemed by the Egyptians as the next in rank to Osiris.

Next to him Lamaris reigned for 8 years: he built the Labyrinth in the Arsinoïte nome as his own tomb.

His successors ruled for 42 years, and the reigns of the whole dynasty amounted to 245 years.

Fr. 36. Armenian Version of Eusebius.

From the Second Book of Manetho.

The Twelfth Dynasty consisted of seven kings of Diospolis. The first of these, Sesonchosis, son of Ammenemês, reigned for 46 years.

2. Ammenemês, for 38 years; he was murdered by his own eunuchs.

3. Sesôstris, for 48 years: he is said to have been 4 cubits 3 palms 2 fingers' breadths in stature. In nine years he subdued the whole of Asia, and Europe as far as Thrace. Everywhere he set up memorials of his subjugation of each tribe: among valiant races he engraved upon pillars a man's secret parts, among unwarlike races a woman's, as a sign of disgrace. Wherefore he was honoured by the Egyptians next to Osiris.

His successor, Lampares, reigned for 8 years: in the Arsinoïte nome he built the many-chambered Labyrinth as his own tomb.

The succeeding kings ruled for 42 years.

Total for the whole dynasty, 245 years.

Dynasty XIII

Fr. 38 (from Syncellus). According to Africanus.

The Thirteenth Dynasty consisted of sixty kings of Diospolis, who reigned for 453 years.

Fr. 39 (a) (from Syncellus). According to Eusebius.

The Thirteenth Dynasty consisted of sixty kings of Diospolis, who reigned for 453 years.

(b) Armenian Version of Eusebius.

The Thirteenth Dynasty consisted of sixty kings of Diospolis, who reigned for 453 years.

Dynasty XIV

Fr. 41 (a) (from Syncellus). According to Africanus.

The Fourteenth Dynasty consisted of seventy-six kings of Xoïs, who reigned for 184 years.

(b) According to Eusebius.

The Fourteenth Dynasty consisted of seventy-six kings of Xoïs, who reigned for 184 years, — in another copy, 484 years.

(c) Armenian Version of Eusebius.

The Fourteenth Dynasty consisted of seventy-six kings of Xoïs, who reigned for 484 years.

The Hyksôs Age, *c.* 1700-*c.* 1580 B.C.

Fr. 42 (from Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, I.14, §§ 73-92).

[Josephus is citing the records of neighbouring nations in proof of the antiquity of the Jews.]

73 I will begin with Egyptian documents. These I cannot indeed set before you in their ancient form; but in Manetho we have a native Egyptian who which was manifestly imbued with Greek culture. He wrote in Greek the history of his nation, translated, as he himself tells us, from sacred tablets; and on many points of Egyptian history he convicts Herodotus of having erred through ignorance. 74 In the second book of his *History of Egypt*, this writer Manetho speaks of us as follows. I shall quote his own words, just as if I had brought forward the man himself as a witness:

75 “Tutimaheus. In his reign, for what cause I know not, a blast of God smote us; and unexpectedly, from the regions of the East, invaders of obscure race marched in confidence of victory against our land. By main force they easily seized it without striking a blow; 76 and having overpowered the rulers of the land, they then burned our cities ruthlessly, razed to the ground the temples of the gods, and treated all the natives with a cruel hostility, massacring some and leading into slavery the wives and children of others. 77 Finally, they appointed as king one of their number whose name was Salitis. He had his seat at Memphis, levying tribute from Upper and Lower Egypt, and always leaving garrisons behind in the most advantageous positions. Above all, he fortified the district to the east, foreseeing that the Assyrians, as they grew stronger, would one day covet and attack his kingdom.

78 “In the Saïte [Sethroïte] nome he found a city very favourably situated on the east of the Bubastite branch of the Nile, and called Auaris after an ancient religious tradition. This place he rebuilt and fortified with

massive walls, planting there a garrison of as many as 240,000 heavy-armed men to guard his frontier. 79 Here he would come in summer-time, partly to serve out rations and pay his troops, partly to train them carefully in manoeuvres and so strike terror into foreign tribes. 80 After reigning for 19 years, Salitis died; and a second king, named Bnôn, succeeded and reigned for 44 years. Next to him came Apachnan, who ruled for 36 years and 7 months; then Apôphis for 61, and Iannas for 50 years and 1 month; 81 then finally Assis for 49 years and 2 months. These six kings, their first rulers, were ever more and more eager to extirpate the Egyptian stock. 82 Their race as a whole was called Hyksôs, that is ‘king-shepherds’: for hyk in the sacred language means ‘king’, and sôs in common speech is ‘shepherd’ or ‘shepherds’; hence the compound word ‘Hyksôs’. Some say that they were Arabs.”

83 In another copy the expression hyk, it is said, does not mean “kings”: on the contrary, the compound refers to “captive-shepherds”. In Egyptian hyk, in fact, and hak when aspirated expressly denote “captives”. This explanation seems to me the more convincing and more in keeping with ancient history.

84 These kings whom I have enumerated above, and their descendants, ruling over the so-called Shepherds, dominated Egypt, according to Manetho, for 511 years. 85 Thereafter, he says, there came a revolt of the kings of the Thebaïd and the rest of Egypt against the Shepherds, and a fierce and prolonged war broke out between them. 86 By a king whose name was Mispthagmuthôsis, the Shepherds, he says, were defeated, driven out of all the rest of Egypt, and confined in a region measuring within its circumference 10,000 arûrae, by name Auaris. 87 According to Manetho, the Shepherds enclosed this whole area with a high, strong wall, in order to safeguard all their possessions and spoils. 88 Thummôsis, the son of Mispthagmuthôsis (he continues), attempted by siege to force them to

surrender, blockading the fortress with an army of 480,000 men. Finally, giving up the siege in despair, he concluded a treaty by which they should all depart from Egypt and go unmolested where they pleased. 89 On these terms the Shepherds, with their possessions and households complete, no fewer than 240,000 persons, left Egypt and journeyed over the desert into Syria. 90 There, dreading the power of the Assyrians who were at that time masters of Asia, they built in the land now called Judaea a city large enough to hold all those thousands of people, and gave it the name of Jerusalem.

91 In another book of his *History of Egypt* Manetho says that this race of so-called Shepherds is, in the sacred books of Egypt, described as “captives”; and his statement is correct. With our remotest ancestors, indeed, it was a hereditary custom to feed sheep; and as they lived a nomadic life, they were called Shepherds. 92 On the other hand, in the Egyptian records they were not unreasonably styled Captives, since our ancestor Joseph told the king of Egypt that he was a captive, and later, with the king’s consent, summoned his brethren to Egypt. But I shall investigate this subject more fully in another place.

Dynasty XV

Fr. 43 (from Syncellus). According to Africanus.

The Fifteenth Dynasty consisted of Shepherd Kings. There were six foreign kings from Phoenicia, who seized Memphis: in the Sethroïte nome they founded a town, from which base they subdued Egypt.

The first of these kings, Saïtês, reigned for 19 years: the Saïte nome is called after him.

2. Bnôn, for 44 years.

3. Pachnan [Apachnan], for 61 years.

4. Staan, for 50 years.

5. Archlês, for 49 years.

6. Aphôphis, (Aphobis), for 61 years.

Total, 284 years.

Fr. 44 (a) (from Syncellus). According to Eusebius.

The Fifteenth Dynasty consisted of kings of Diospolis, who reigned for 250 years.

(b) Armenian Version of Eusebius.

The Fifteenth Dynasty consisted of kings of Diospolis, who reigned for 250 years.

Dynasty XVI

Fr. 45 (from Syncellus). According to Africanus.

The Sixteenth Dynasty were Shepherd Kings again, 32 in number: they reigned for 518 years.

Fr. 46 (a) (from Syncellus). According to Eusebius.

The Sixteenth Dynasty were kings of Thebes, 5 in number: they reigned for 190 years.

(b) Armenian Version of Eusebius.

The Sixteenth Dynasty were kings of Thebes, 5 in number: they reigned for 190 years.

Dynasty XVII

Fr. 47 (from Syncellus). According to Africanus.

The Seventeenth Dynasty were Shepherd Kings again, 43 in number, and kings of Thebes or Diospolis, 43 in number.

Total of the reigns of the Shepherd Kings and the Theban kings, 151 years.

Fr. 48 (a) (from Syncellus). According to Eusebius.

The Seventeenth Dynasty were Shepherds and brothers: they were foreign kings from Phoenicia, who seized Memphis.

The first of these kings, Saïtês, reigned for 19 years: the Saïte nome is called after him. These kings founded in the Sethroïte nome a town, from which as a base they subdued Egypt.

2. Bnôn, for 40 years.

3. Aphôphis, for 14 years.

After him Archlês reigned for 30 years.

Total, 103 years.

It was in their time that Joseph was appointed king of Egypt.

(b) Armenian Version of Eusebius.

The Seventeenth Dynasty consisted of Shepherds, who were brothers from Phoenicia and foreign kings: they seized Memphis. The first of these kings, Saïtês, reigned for 19 years: from him, too, the Saïte nome derived its name. These kings founded in the Sethroïte nome a town from which they made a raid and subdued Egypt.

The second king was Bnon, for 40 years.

Next, Archlês, for 30 years.

Aphophis, for 14 years.

Total, 103 years.

It was in their time that Joseph appears to have ruled in Egypt.

Fr. 49 (from the Scholia to Plato).

Saïtic, of Saïs. From the *Aegyptiaca* of Manetho. The Seventeenth Dynasty consisted of Shepherds: they were brothers from Phoenicia, foreign kings, who seized Memphis. The first of these kings, Saïtês, reigned for 19 years: the Saïte nome is called after him. These kings founded in the Sethroïte nome a town, from which as a base they subdued Egypt.

The second of these kings, Bnôn, reigned for 40 years; the third, Archaês, for 30 years; and the fourth, Aphôphis, for 14 years. Total, 103 years.

Saïtês added 12 hours to the month, to make its length 30 days; and he added 6 days to the year, which thus comprised 365 days.

Dynasties, XVIII, XIX

**Fr. 50 (from Josephus, Contra Apionem, I.15, 16, §§
93-105) — (continued from Fr. 42).**

93 For the present I am citing the Egyptians as witnesses to this antiquity of ours. I shall therefore resume my quotations from Manetho's works in their reference to chronology. His account is as follows: 94 "After the departure of the tribe of the Shepherds from Egypt to Jerusalem, Tethmôsis, the king who drove them out of Egypt, reigned for 25 years 4 months until his death, when he was succeeded by his son Chebrôn, who ruled for 13 years. 95 After him Amenôphis reigned for 20 years 7 months; then his sister Amessis for 21 years 9 months; then her son Mêphrês for 12 years 9 months; then his son Mêphramuthôsis for 25 years 10 months; 96 then his son Thmôsis for 9 years 8 months; then his son Amenôphis for 30 years 10 months; then his son Ôrus for 36 years 5 months; then his daughter Acenchêrês for 12 years 1 month; then her brother Rathôtis for 9 years; 97 then his son Acenchêrês for 12 years 5 months, his son Acenchêrês II for 12 years 3 months, his son Harmaïs for 4 years 1 month, his son Ramessês for 1 year 4 months, his son Harmessês Miamûn for 66 years 2 months, his son Amenôphis for 19 years 6 months, 98 and his son Sethôs, also called Ramessês, whose power lay in his cavalry and his fleet. This king appointed his brother Harmaïs viceroy of Egypt, and invested him with all the royal prerogatives, except that he charged him not to wear a diadem, nor to wrong the queen, the mother of his children, and to refrain likewise from the royal concubines. 99 He then set out on an expedition against Cyprus and Phoenicia and later against the Assyrians and the Medes; and he subjugated them all, some by the sword, others without a blow and merely by the menace of his mighty host. In the pride of his conquests, he continued his advance with still greater boldness, and subdued the cities and lands of the East. 100 When a considerable time had elapsed, Harmaïs who had been

left behind in Egypt, recklessly contravened all his brother's injunctions. He outraged the queen and proceeded to make free with the concubines; then, following the advice of his friends, he began to wear a diadem and rose in revolt against his brother. 101 The warden of the priests of Egypt then wrote a letter which he sent to Sethôsis, revealing all the details, including the revolt of his brother Harmaïs. Sethôsis forthwith returned to Pêlusium and took possession of his kingdom; 102 and the land was named Aegyptus after him. It is said that Sethôs was called Aegyptus, and his brother Harmaïs, Danaus."

103 Such is Manetho's account; and, if the time is reckoned according to the years mentioned, it is clear that the so-called Shepherds, our ancestors, quitted Egypt and settled in our land 393 years before the coming of Danaus to Argos. Yet the Argives regard Danaus as belonging to a remote antiquity. 104 Thus Manetho has given us evidence from Egyptian records upon two very important points: first, upon our coming to Egypt from elsewhere; and secondly, upon our departure from Egypt at a date so remote that it preceded the Trojan war by wellnigh a thousand years. 105 As for the additions which Manetho has made, not from the Egyptian records, but, as he has himself admitted, from anonymous legendary tales, I shall later refute them in detail, and show the improbability of his lying stories.

Fr. 51 (from Theophilus, Ad Autolyc. III.19).

Moses was the leader of the Jews, as I have already said, when they had been expelled from Egypt by King Pharaôh whose name was Tethmôsis. After the expulsion of the people, this king, it is said, reigned for 25 years 4 months, according to Manetho's reckoning.

After him, Chebrôn ruled for 13 years.

After him, Amenôphis, for 20 years 7 months.

After him, his sister Amessê, for 21 years 1 month [9 months in Josephus]

After her, Mêphrês, for 12 years 9 months.

After him, Mêphrammuthôsis, for 20 years [25 years in Josephus] 10 months.

After him, Tuthmôsês, for 9 years 8 months.

After him, Amenôphis, for 30 years 10 months.

After him, Ôrus, for 36 years 5 months.

Next, his daughter [Acenchêrês] reigned for 12 years 1 month.

After her, [Rathôtis, for 9 years.

After him, Acenchêrês, for 12 years 5 months.

After him, Ac]enchêrês [II], for 12 years 3 months.

His son Harmaïs, for 4 years 1 month.

After him, Ramessês for 1 year and 4 months.

After him, Ramessês Miammû(n), for 66 years 2 months.

After him, Amenôphis, for 19 years 6 months.

Then, his son Sethôs, also called Ramessês, for 10 years. He is said to have possessed a large force of cavalry and an organized fleet.

Dynasty XVIII

Fr. 52 (from Syncellus). According to Africanus.

The Eighteenth Dynasty consisted of 16 kings of Diospolis.

The first of these was Amôs, in whose reign Moses went forth from Egypt, as I here declare; but, according to the convincing evidence of the present calculation it follows that in this reign Moses was still young.

The second king of the Eighteenth Dynasty, according to Africanus, was Chebrôs, who reigned for 13 years.

The third king, Amenôphthis, reigned for 24 (21) years.

The fourth king (queen), Amensis (Amersis), reigned for 22 years.

The fifth, Misaphris, for 13 years.

The sixth, Misphragmuthôsis, for 26 years: in his reign the flood of Deucalion's time occurred.

Total, according to Africanus, down to the reign of Amôsis, also called Misphragmuthôsis, 69 years. Of the length of the reign of Amôs he said nothing at all.

7. Tuthmôsis, for 9 years.

8. Amenôphis, for 31 years. This is the king who was reputed to be Memnôn and a speaking statue.

9. Ôrus, for 37 years.

10. Acherrês, for 32 years.

11. Rathôs, for 6 years.

12. Chebrês, for 12 years.

13. Acherrês, for 12 years.

14. Armesis, for 5 years.

15. Ramessês, for 1 year.

16. Amenôphath (Amenôph), for 19 years.

Total, 263 years.

Fr. 53 (a) (from Syncellus). According to Eusebius.

The Eighteenth Dynasty consisted of fourteen kings of Diospolis.

The first of these, Amôsis, reigned for 25 years.

2. The second, Chebrôn, for 13 years.

3. Ammenôphis, for 21 years.

4. Miphrês, for 12 years.

5. Mispthagmuthôsis, for 26 years.

Total from Amôsis, the first king of this Eighteenth Dynasty, down to the reign of Mispthagmuthôsis amounts, according to Eusebius, to 71 years; and there are five kings, not six. For he omitted the fourth king, Amensês, mentioned by Africanus and the others, and thus cut off the 22 years of his reign.

6. Tuthmôsis, for 9 years.

7. Amenôphis, for 31 years. This is the king who was reputed to be Memnôn and a speaking statue.

8. Ôrus, for 36 years (in another copy, 38 years).

9. Achenchersês [for 12 years].

[Athôris, for 39 years (? 9).]

[Cencherês] for 16 years.

About this time Moses led the Jews in their march out of Egypt. (Syncellus adds: Eusebius alone places in this reign the exodus of Israel under Moses, although no argument supports him, but all his predecessors hold a contrary view, as he testifies.)

10. Acherrês, for 8 years.

11. Cherrês, for 15 years.

12. Armaïs, also called Danaus, for 5 years: thereafter, he was banished from Egypt and, fleeing from his brother Aegyptus, he arrived in Greece, and, seizing Argos, he ruled over the Argives.

13. Ramessês, also called Aegyptus, for 68 years.

14. Ammenôphis, for 40 years.

Total, 348 years.

Eusebius assigns 85 years more than Africanus to the Eighteenth Dynasty. (Syncellus elsewhere says: Eusebius leaves out two kings, but adds 85 years, setting down 348 years instead of the 263 years of the reckoning of Africanus.)

(b) Armenian Version of Eusebius.

The Eighteenth Dynasty consisted of fourteen kings of Diospolis. The first of these, Amoses, reigned for 25 years.

2. Chebron, for 13 years.

3. Amophis, for 21 years.

4. Memphres, for 12 years.

5. Mispharmuthosis, for 26 years.

6. Tuthmosis, for 9 years.

7. Amenophis, for 31 years. This is the king who was reputed to be Memnon, a speaking stone.

8. Orus, for 28 years.

9. Achencheres . . . , for 16 years. In his time Moses became leader of the Hebrews in their exodus from Egypt.

10. Acherres, for 8 years.

11. Cherres, for 15 years.

12. Armaïs, also called Danaus, for 5 years: at the end of this time he was banished from the land of Egypt. Fleeing from his brother Aegyptus, he escaped to Greece, and after capturing Argos, he held sway over the Argives.

13. Ramesses, also called Aegyptus, for 68 years.

14. Amenophis, for 40 years.

Total for the dynasty, 348 years.

**Fr. 54 (from Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, I.26-31, §§
227-287).**

(Josephus discusses the calumnies of the Egyptians against the Jews, whom they hate.)

227 The first writer upon whom I shall dwell is one whom I used a little earlier as a witness to our antiquity. 228 I refer to Manetho. This writer, who had undertaken to translate the history of Egypt from the sacred books, began by stating that our ancestors came against Egypt with many tens of thousands and gained the mastery over the inhabitants; and then he himself admitted that at a later date again they were driven out of the country, occupied what is now Judaea, founded Jerusalem, and built the temple. Up to this point he followed the chronicles: 229 thereafter, by offering to record the legends and current talk about the Jews, he took the liberty of interpolating improbable tales in his desire to confuse with us a crowd of Egyptians, who for leprosy and other maladies had been condemned, he says, to banishment from Egypt. 230 After citing a king Amenôphis, a fictitious person, — for which reason he did not venture to define the length of his reign, although in the case of the other kings he adds their years precisely, — Manetho attaches to him certain legends, having doubtless forgotten that according to his own chronicle the exodus of the Shepherds to Jerusalem took place 518 years earlier. 231 For Tethmôsis was king when they set out; and, according to Manetho, the intervening reigns thereafter occupied 393 years down to the two brothers Sethôs and Hermaeus, the former of whom, he says, took the new name of Aegyptus, the latter that of Danaus. Sethôs drove out Hermaeus and reigned for 59 years; then Rampsês, the elder of his sons, for 66 years. 232 Thus, after admitting that so many years had elapsed since our forefathers left Egypt, Manetho now interpolates this intruding Amenôphis. This king, he states, conceived a

desire to behold the gods, as Ôr, one of his predecessors on the throne, had done; and he communicated his desire to his namesake Amenôphis, Paapis' son, who, in virtue of his wisdom and knowledge of the future, was reputed to be a partaker in the divine nature. 233 This namesake, then, replied that he would be able to see the gods if he cleansed the whole land of lepers and other polluted persons. 234 The king was delighted, and assembled all those in Egypt whose bodies were wasted by disease: they numbered 80,000 persons. 235 These he cast into the stone-quarries to the east of the Nile, there to work segregated from the rest of the Egyptians. Among them, Manetho adds, there were some of the learned priests, who had been attacked by leprosy. 236 Then this wise seer Amenôphis was filled with dread of divine wrath against himself and the king if the outrage done to these persons should be discovered; and he added a prediction that certain allies would join the polluted people and would take possession of Egypt for 13 years. Not venturing to make this prophecy himself to the king, he left a full account of it in writing, and then took his own life. The king was filled with despondency. 237 Then Manetho continues as follows (I quote his account *verbatim*): "When the men in the stone-quarries had suffered hardships for a considerable time, they begged the king to assign to them as a dwelling-place and a refuge the deserted city of the Shepherds, Auaris, and he consented. According to religious tradition this city was from earliest times dedicated to Typhôn. 238 Occupying this city and using the region as a base for revolt, they appointed as their leader one of the priests of Héliopolis called Osarsêph, and took an oath of obedience to him in everything. 239 First of all, he made it a law that they should neither worship the gods nor refrain from any of the animals prescribed as especially sacred in Egypt, but should sacrifice and consume all alike, and that they should have intercourse with none save those of their own confederacy. 240 After framing a great number of laws like these,

completely opposed to Egyptian custom, he ordered them with their multitude of hands, to repair the walls of the city and make ready for war against King Amenôphis. 241 Then, acting in concert with certain other priests and polluted persons like himself, he sent an embassy to the Shepherds who had been expelled by Tethmôsis, in the city called Jerusalem; and, setting forth the circumstances of himself and his companions in distress, he begged them to unite wholeheartedly in an attack upon Egypt. 242 He offered to conduct them first to their ancestral home at Auaris, to provide their hosts with lavish supplies, to fight on their behalf whenever need arose, and to bring Egypt without difficulty under their sway. 243 Overjoyed at the proposal, all the Shepherds, to the number of 200,000, eagerly set out, and before long arrived at Auaris. When Amenôphis, king of Egypt, learned of their invasion, he was sorely troubled, for he recalled the prediction of Amenôphis, son of Paapis. 244 First, he gathered a multitude of Egyptians; and having taken counsel with the leading men among them, he summoned to his presence the sacred animals which were held in greatest reverence in the temples, and gave instructions to each group of priests to conceal the images of the gods as securely as possible. 245 As for his five-year-old son Rapsês, he sent him safely away to his friend. He then crossed the Nile with as many as 300,000 of the bravest warriors of Egypt, and met the enemy. But, instead of joining battle, 246 he decided that he must not fight against the gods, and made a hasty retreat to Memphis. There he took into his charge Apis and the other sacred animals which he had summoned to that place; and forthwith he set off for Ethiopia with his whole army and the host of Egyptians. The Ethiopian king, who, in gratitude for a service, had become his subject, 247 welcomed him, maintained the whole multitude with such products of the country as were fit for human consumption, assigned to them cities and villages sufficient for the destined period of 13 years' banishment from his

realm, and especially stationed an Ethiopian army on the frontiers of Egypt to guard King Amenôphis and his followers. 248 Meanwhile, the Solymites [or dwellers in Jerusalem] made a descent along with the polluted Egyptians, and treated the people so impiously and savagely that the domination of the Shepherds seemed like a golden age to those who witnessed the present enormities. 249 For not only did they set towns and villages on fire, pillaging the temples and mutilating images of the gods without restraint, but they also made a practice of using the sanctuaries as kitchens to roast the sacred animals which the people worshipped: and they would compel the priests and prophets to sacrifice and butcher the beasts, afterwards casting the men forth naked. 250 It is said that the priest who framed their constitution and their laws was a native of Hêliopolis, named Osarsêph after the god Osiris, worshipped at Hêliopolis; but when he joined this people, he changed his name and was called Moses.”

251 Such, then, are the Egyptian stories about the Jews, together with many other tales which I pass by for brevity’s sake. Manetho adds, however, that, at a later date, Amenôphis advanced from Ethiopia with a large army, his son Rampsês also leading a force, and that the two together joined battle with the Shepherds and their polluted allies, and defeated them, killing many and pursuing the others to the frontiers of Syria. 252 This then, with other tales of a like nature, is Manetho’s account. Before I give proof that his words are manifest lies and nonsense, I shall mention one particular point, which bears upon my later refutation of other writers. Manetho has made one concession to us. He has admitted that our race was not Egyptian in origin, but came into Egypt from elsewhere, took possession of the land, and afterwards left it. 253 But that we were not, at a later time, mixed up with disease-ravaged Egyptians, and that, so far from being one of these, Moses, the leader of our people, lived many generations earlier, I shall endeavour to prove from Manetho’s own statements.

254 To begin with, the reason which he suggests for his fiction is ridiculous. “King Amenôphis,” he says, “conceived a desire to see the gods.” Gods indeed! If he means the gods established by their ordinances, — bull, goat, crocodiles, and dog-faced baboons, — he had them before his eyes; 255 and as for the gods of heaven, how could he see them? And why did he conceive this eager desire? Because, by Zeus, before his time another king had seen them! From this predecessor, then, he had learned their nature and the manner in which he had seen them, and in consequence he had no need of a new system. 256 Moreover, the prophet by whose aid the king expected to succeed in his endeavour, was a sage. How, then, did he fail to foresee the impossibility of realizing this desire? It did, in fact, come to naught. And what reason had he for ascribing the invisibility of the gods to the presence of cripples or lepers? Divine wrath is due to impious deeds, not to physical deformities. 257 Next, how could 80,000 lepers and invalids be gathered together in practically a single day? The prophet had bidden him expel the cripples from Egypt, but the king cast them into stone-quarries, as if he needed labourers, not as if his purpose was to purge the land. 258 Manetho says, moreover, that the prophet took his own life, because he foresaw the anger of the gods and the fate in store for Egypt, but left in writing his prediction to the king. 259 Then how was it that the prophet had not from the first foreknowledge of his own death? Why did he not forthwith oppose the king’s desire to see the gods? Was it reasonable to be afraid of misfortunes which were not to happen in his time? Or what worse fate could have been his than that which he hastened to inflict upon himself?

260 But let us now examine the most ridiculous part of the whole story. Although he had learned these facts, and conceived a dread of the future, the king did not, even then, expel from his land those cripples of whose taint he had previously been bidden to purge Egypt, but instead, at their

request, he gave them as their city (Manetho says) the former habitation of the Shepherds, Auaris, as it was called. 261 Here, he adds, they assembled, and selected as their leader a man who had formerly been a priest in Heliopolis. This man (according to Manetho) instructed them not to worship the gods nor to refrain from the animals revered in Egypt, but to sacrifice and devour them all, and to have intercourse with none save those of their own confederacy. Then having bound his followers by oath to abide strictly by these laws, he fortified Auaris and waged war against the king. 262 This leader, Manetho adds, sent to Jerusalem, inviting the people to join in alliance with him, and promising to give them Auaris, which, he reminded them, was the ancestral home of those who would come from Jerusalem, and would serve as a base for their conquest of the whole of Egypt. 263 Then, continues Manetho, they advanced with an army of 200,000 men; and Amenôphis, king of Egypt, thinking he ought not to fight against the gods, fled straightway into Ethiopia after enjoining that Apis and some of the other sacred animals should be entrusted to the custody of the priests. 264 Thereafter, the men from Jerusalem came on, made desolate the cities, burned down the temples, massacred the priests, and, in short, committed every possible kind of lawlessness and savagery. 265 The priest who framed their constitution and their laws was, according to Manetho, a native of Hêliopolis, Osarsêph by name, after Osiris the god worshipped in Hêliopolis: but he changed his name and called himself Moses. 266 Thirteen years later — this being the destined period of his exile — Amenôphis, according to Manetho, advanced from Ethiopia with a large army, and joining battle with the Shepherds and the polluted people, he defeated them, killing many, after pursuing them to the frontiers of Syria.

267 Here again Manetho fails to realize the improbability of his lying tale. Even if the lepers and their accompanying horde were previously angry with the king and the others who had treated them thus in obedience to the

seer's prediction, certainly when they had left the stone-quarries and received from him a city and land, they would have grown more kindly disposed to him. 268 If indeed they still hated him, they would have plotted against him personally, instead of declaring war against the whole people; for obviously so large a company must have had numerous relatives in Egypt. 269 Notwithstanding, once they had resolved to make war on the Egyptians, they would never have ventured to direct their warfare against their gods, nor would they have framed laws completely opposed to the ancestral code under which they had been brought u We must, however, be grateful to Manetho for stating that the authors of this lawlessness were not the newcomers from Jerusalem, but that company of people who were themselves Egyptians, and that it was, above all, their priests who devised the scheme and bound the multitude by oath.

271 Moreover, how absurd it is to imagine that, while none of their relatives and friends joined in the revolt and shared in the perils of war, these polluted persons sent to Jerusalem and gained allies there! 272 What alliance, what connexion had previously existed between them? Why, on the contrary, they were enemies, and differed widely in customs. Yet Manetho says that they lent a ready ear to the promise that they would occupy Egypt, just as if they were not thoroughly acquainted with the country from which they had been forcibly expelled! 273 Now, if they had been in straitened or unusual circumstances, they would perhaps have taken the risk; but dwelling, as they did, in a prosperous city and enjoying the fruits of an ample country, superior to Egypt, why ever should they be likely to hazard their lives by succouring their former foes, those maimed cripples, whom none even of their own kinsfolk could endure? For of course they did not foresee that the king would take flight. 274 On the contrary, Manetho has himself stated that the son of Amenôphis marched with 300,000 men to confront them at Pêlusium. This was certainly known

to those already present; but how could they possibly guess that he would charting his mind and flee? 275 Manetho next says that, after conquering Egypt, the invaders from Jerusalem committed many heinous crimes; and for these he reproaches them, just as if he had not brought them in as enemies, or as if he was bound to accuse allies from abroad of actions which before their arrival native Egyptians were performing and had sworn to perform. 276 But, years later, Amenôphis returned to the attack, conquered the enemy in battle, and drove them, with slaughter, right to Syria. So perfectly easy a prey is Egypt to invaders, no matter whence they come! 277 And yet those who at that time conquered the land, on learning that Amenôphis was alive, neither fortified the passes between it and Ethiopia, although their resources were amply sufficient, nor did they keep the rest of their forces in readiness! Amenôphis, according to Manetho, pursued them with carnage over the sandy desert right to Syria. But obviously it is no easy matter for an army to cross the desert even without fighting.

278 Thus, according to Manetho, our race is not of Egyptian origin, nor did it receive any admixture of Egyptians. For, naturally, many of the lepers and invalids died in the stone-quarries during their long term of hardship, many others in the subsequent battles, and most of all in the final engagement and the rout.

279 It remains for me to reply to Manetho's statements about Moses. The Egyptians regard him as a wonderful, even a divine being, but wish to claim him as their own by an incredible calumny, alleging that he belonged to Héliopolis and was dismissed from his priesthood there owing to leprosy. 280 The records, however, show that he lived 518 years earlier, and led our forefathers up out of Egypt to the land which we inhabit at the present time. 281 And that he suffered from no such physical affliction is clear from his own words. He has, in fact, forbidden lepers either to stay in a town or to

make their abode in a village; they must go about in solitude, with their garments rent. Anyone who touches them or lives under the same roof with them he considers unclean. 282 Moreover, even if the malady is cured and the leper resumes normal health, Moses has prescribed certain rites of purification — to cleanse himself in a bath of spring-water and to shave off all his hair, — and enjoins the performance of a number of different sacrifices before entrance into the holy city. 283 Yet it would have been natural, on the contrary, for a victim of this scourge to show some consideration and kindly feeling for those who shared the same misfortune. 284 It was not only about lepers that he framed such laws: those who had even the slightest mutilation of the body were disqualified for the priesthood; and if a priest in the course of his ministry met with an accident of this nature, he was deprived of his office. 285 How improbable, then, that Moses should be so foolish as to frame these laws, or that men brought together by such misfortunes should approve of legislation against themselves, to their own shame and injury! 286 But, further, the name, too, has been transformed in an extremely improbable way. According to Manetho, Moses was called Osarsêph. These names, however, are not interchangeable: the true name means “one saved out of the water,” for water is called “mō-y” by the Egyptians.

287 It is now, therefore, sufficiently obvious, I think, that, so long as Manetho followed the ancient records, he did not stray far from the truth; but when he turned to unauthorized legends, he either combined them in an improbable form or else gave credence to certain prejudiced informants.

Dynasty XIX

Fr. 55 (from Syncellus). According to Africanus.

The Nineteenth Dynasty consisted of seven (six) kings of Diospolis.

1. Sethôs, for 51 years.
2. Rapsacês, for 61 (66) years.
3. Ammenephthês, for 20 years.
4. Ramessês, for 60 years.
5. Ammenemnês, for 5 years.
6. Thuôris, who in Homer is called Polybus, husband of Alcandra, and in whose time Troy was taken, reigned for 7 years.

Total, 209 years.

Sum total in the Second Book of Manetho, ninety-six kings, for 2121 years.

Fr. 56 (a) (from Syncellus). According to Eusebius.

The Nineteenth Dynasty consisted of five kings of Diospolis.

1. Sethôs, for 55 years.
2. Rampsês, for 66 years.
3. Ammenephthis, for 40 years.
4. Ammenemês, for 26 years.
5. Thuôris, who in Homer is called Polybus, husband of Alcandra, and in whose reign Troy was taken, reigned for 7 years.

Total, 194 years.

Sum total in the Second Book of Manetho, for ninety-two kings, 1121 (2121) years.

(b) Armenian Version of Eusebius.

The Nineteenth Dynasty consisted of five kings of Diospolis.

1. Sethos, for 55 years.
2. Rampses, for 66 years.
3. Amenephthis, for 8 years.
4. Ammenemes, for 26 years.

5. Thuoris, by Homer called the active and gallant Polybus, in whose time Troy was taken, reigned for 7 years.

Total, 194 years.

In the Second Book of Manetho there is a total of ninety-two kings, reigning for 2121 years.

BOOK III

Dynasty XX

Fr. 57 (from Syncellus). According to Africanus.

From the Third Book of Manetho.

The Twentieth Dynasty consisted of twelve kings of Diospolis, who reigned for 135 years.

(b) According to Eusebius.

From the Third Book of Manetho.

The Twentieth Dynasty consisted of twelve kings of Diospolis, who reigned for 178 years.

(c) Armenian Version of Eusebius.

From the Third Book of Manetho.

The Twentieth Dynasty consisted of twelve kings of Diospolis, who reigned for 172 years.

Dynasty XXI

Fr. 58 (from Syncellus). According to Africanus.

The Twenty-first Dynasty consisted of seven kings of Tanis.

1. Smendês, for 26 years.
2. Psusen(n)ês I, for 46 years.
3. Nephhercherês (Nephelcherês), for 4 years.
4. Amenôphthis, for 9 years.
5. Osochôr, for 6 years.
6. Psinachês, for 9 years.
7. Psusennes [II] (Susennês), for 14 years.

Total, 130 years.

Fr. 59 (a) (from Syncellus). According to Eusebius.

The Twenty-first Dynasty consisted of seven kings of Tanis.

1. Smendis, for 26 years.
2. Psusennês, for 41 years.
3. Nephercherês, for 4 years.
4. Amenôphthis, for 9 years.
5. Osochôr, for 6 years.
6. Psinachês, for 9 years.
7. Psusennês, for 35 years.

Total, 130 years.

(b) Armenian Version of Eusebius.

The Twenty-first Dynasty consisted of seven kings of Tanis.

1. Smendis, for 26 years.
2. Psusennes, for 41 years.
3. Nephercheres, for 4 years.
4. Amenophthis, for 9 years.
5. Osochor, for 6 years.

6. Psinnaches, for 9 years.

7. Psusennes, for 35 years.

Total, 130 years.

Dynasty XXII

Fr. 60 (from Syncellus). According to Africanus.

The Twenty-second Dynasty consisted of nine kings of Bubastus.

1. Sesônchis, for 21 years.

2. Osorthôn, for 15 years.

3, 4, 5. Three other kings, for 25 years.

6. Takelôthis, for 13 years.

7, 8, 9. Three other kings, for 42 years.

Total, 120 years.

Fr. 61 (a) (from Syncellus). According to Eusebius.

The Twenty-second Dynasty consisted of three kings of Bubastus.

1. Sesônchôsis, for 21 years.
2. Osorthôn, for 15 years.
3. Takelôthis, for 13 years.

Total, 49 years.

(b) Armenian Version of Eusebius.

The Twenty-second Dynasty consisted of three kings of Bubastus.

1. Sesonchosis, for 21 years.
2. Osorthon, for 15 years.
3. Tacelothis, for 13 years.

Total, 49 years.

Dynasty XXIII

Fr. 62 (from Syncellus). According to Africanus.

The Twenty-third Dynasty consisted of four kings of Tanis.

1. Petubatês, for 40 years: in his reign the Olympic festival was first celebrated.

2. Osorchô, for 8 years: the Egyptians call him Hêraclês.

3. Psammûs, for 10 years.

4. Zêt, for 31 years (34).

Total, 89 years.

Fr. 63 (a) (from Syncellus). According to Eusebius.

The Twenty-third Dynasty consisted of three kings of Tanis.

1. Petubastis, for 25 years.
2. Osorthôn, for 9 years: the Egyptians called him Hêraclês.
3. Psammûs, for 10 years.

Total, 44 years.

(b) Armenian Version of Eusebius.

The Twenty-third Dynasty consisted of three kings of Tanis.

1. Petubastis, for 25 years.
2. Osorthon, whom the Egyptians named Hercules: for 9 years.
3. Psammus, for 10 years.

Total, 44 years.

Dynasty XXIV

Fr. 64 (from Syncellus). According to Africanus.

The Twenty-fourth Dynasty.

Bochchôris of Saïs, for 6 years: in his reign a lamb spoke . . . 990 years.

Fr. 65 (a) (from Syncellus). According to Eusebius.

The Twenty-fourth Dynasty.

Bochchôris of Saïs, for 44 years: in his reign a lamb spoke. Total, 44 years.

(b) Armenian Version of Eusebius.

The Twenty-fourth Dynasty.

Bocchoris of Saïs, for 44 years: in his reign a lamb spoke.

Dynasty XXV

Fr. 66 (from Syncellus). According to Africanus.

The Twenty-fifth Dynasty consisted of three Ethiopian kings.

1. Sabacôn, who, taking Bochchôris captive, burned him alive, and reigned for 8 years.

2. Sebichôs, his son, for 14 years.

3. Tarcus, for 18 years.

Total, 40 years.

Fr. 67 (a) (from Syncellus). According to Eusebius.

The Twenty-fifth Dynasty consisted of three Ethiopian kings.

1. Sabacôn, who, taking Bochchôris captive, burned him alive, and reigned for 12 years.
2. Sebichôs, his son, for 12 years.
3. Taracus, for 20 years.

Total, 44 years.

(b) Armenian Version of Eusebius.

The Twenty-fifth Dynasty consisted of three Ethiopian kings.

1. Sabacon, who, taking Bocchoris captive, burned him alive, and reigned for 12 years.
2. Sebichos, his son, for 12 years.
3. Saracus (Taracus), for 20 years.

Total, 44 years.

Dynasty XXVI

Fr. 68 (from Syncellus). According to Africanus.

The Twenty-sixth Dynasty consisted of nine kings of Saïs.

1. Stephinatês, for 7 years.
 2. Nechepsôs, for 6 years.
 3. Nechaô, for 8 years.
 4. Psammêtichus, for 54 years.
 5. Nechaô the Second, for 6 years: he took Jerusalem, and led King Iôachaz captive into Egypt.
 6. Psammuthis the Second, for 6 years.
 7. Uaphris, for 19 years: the remnant of the Jews fled to him, when Jerusalem was captured by the Assyrians.
 8. Amôsis, for 44 years.
- Psammecheritês, for 6 months.
- Total, 150 years 6 months.

Fr. 69 (a) (from Syncellus). According to Eusebius.

The Twenty-sixth Dynasty consisted of nine kings of Saïs.

1. Ammeris the Ethiopian, for 12 years.
2. Stephinathis, for 7 years.
3. Nechepsôs, for 6 years.
4. Nechaô, for 8 years.
5. Psammêtichus, for 45 years.
6. Nechaô the Second, for 6 years: he took Jerusalem, and led King Iôachaz captive into Egypt.
7. Psammuthis the Second, also called Psammêtichus, for 17 years.
8. Uaphris, for 25 years: the remnant of the Jews fled to him, when Jerusalem was captured by the Assyrians.
9. Amôsis, for 42 years.

Total, 163 years.

(b) Armenian Version of Eusebius.

The Twenty-sixth Dynasty consisted of nine kings of Saïs.

1. Ameres the Ethiopian, for 18 years.
2. Stephinathes, for 7 years.

3. Necho, for 6 years.

4. Necho, for 8 years.

5. Psammetichus, for 44 years.

6. Necho the Second, for 6 years: he took Jerusalem, and led King Jehoiachaz captive into Egypt.

7. Psammethes the Second, also called Psammetichus, for 17 years.

8. Uaphres, for 25 years: the remnant of the Jews took refuge with him, when Jerusalem was subjugated by the Assyrians.

9. Amosis, for 42 years.

Total, 167 years.

Dynasty XXVII

Fr. 70 (from Syncellus). According to Africanus.

The Twenty-seventh Dynasty consisted of eight Persian kings.

1. Cambysês in the fifth year of his kingship over the Persians became king of Egypt and ruled for 6 years.

2. Darius, son of Hystaspês, for 36 years.

3. Xerxês the Great, for 21 years.

4. Artabanus, for 7 months.

5. Artaxerxês, for 41 years.

6. Xerxês, for 2 months.

7. Sogdianus, for 7 months.

8. Darius, son of Xerxês, for 19 years.

Total, 124 years 4 months.

Fr. 71 (a) (from Syncellus). According to Eusebius.

The Twenty-seventh Dynasty consisted of eight Persian kings.

1. Cambysês in the fifth year of his kingship became king of Egypt, and ruled for 3 years.
2. Magi, for 7 months.
3. Darius, for 36 years.
4. Xerxês, son of Darius, for 21 years.
5. Artaxerxês of the long hand, for 40 years.
6. Xerxês the Second, for 2 months.
7. Sogdianus, for 7 months.
8. Darius, son of Xerxês, for 19 years.

Total, 120 years 4 months.

(b) Armenian Version of Eusebius.

The Twenty-seventh Dynasty consisted of eight Persian kings.

1. Cambysês in the fifth year of his kingship became king of Egypt, and ruled for 3 years.
2. Magi, for 7 months.
3. Darius, for 36 years.

4. Xerxes, son of Darius, for 21 years.

5. Artaxerxes, for 40 years.

6. Xerxes the Second, for 2 months.

7. Sogdianus, for 7 months.

8. Darius, son of Xerxes, for 19 years.

Total, 120 years 4 months.

Dynasty XXVIII

Fr. 72 (a) (from Syncellus). According to Africanus.

The Twenty-eighth Dynasty. Amyrteos of Saïs, for 6 years.

(b) According to Eusebius.

The Twenty-eighth Dynasty. Amyrtaeus of Saïs, for 6 years.

(c) Armenian Version of Eusebius.

The Twenty-eighth Dynasty. Amyrtes of Saïs, for 6 years.

Dynasty XXIX

Fr. 73 (a) (from Syncellus). According to Africanus.

The Twenty-ninth Dynasty: four kings of Mendês.

1. Nepheritês, for 6 years.
2. Achôris, for 13 years.
3. Psammuthis, for 1 year.
4. Nepheritês [II], for 4 months.

Total, 20 years 4 months.

(b) According to Eusebius.

The Twenty-ninth Dynasty: four kings of Mendês.

1. Nepheritês, for 6 years.
2. Achôris, for 13 years.
3. Psammuthis, for 1 year.
4. Nepheritês [II], for 4 months.
5. Muthis, for 1 year.

Total, 21 years 4 months.

(c) Armenian Version of Eusebius.

The Twenty-ninth Dynasty consisted of four kings of Mendês.

1. Nepherites, for 6 years.
2. Achoris, for 13 years.
3. Psamuthes, for 1 year.
4. Muthes, for 1 year.
5. Nepheritês [II], for 4 months.

Total, 21 years and 4 months.

Dynasty XXX

Fr. 74 (a) (from Syncellus). According to Africanus.

The Thirtieth Dynasty consisted of three kings of Sebennytyus.

1. Nectanebês, for 18 years.
2. Teôs, for 2 years.
3. Nectanebus, for 18 years.

Total, 38 years.

(b) According to Eusebius.

The Thirtieth Dynasty consisted of three kings of Sebennytyus.

1. Nectanebês, for 10 years.
2. Teôs, for 2 years.
3. Nectanebus, for 8 years.

Total, 20 years.

(c) Armenian Version of Eusebius.

The Thirtieth Dynasty consisted of 3 kings of Sebennytyus.

1. Nectanebes, for 10 years.
2. Teos, for 2 years.
3. Nectanebus, for 8 years.

Total, 20 years.

Dynasty XXXI

Fr. 75 (a) (from Syncellus). According to Africanus.

The Thirty-first Dynasty consisted of three Persian kings.

1. Ôchus in the twentieth year of his kingship over the Persians became king of Egypt, and ruled for 2 years.

2. Arsês, for 3 years.

3. Darius, for 4 years.

Total of years in Book III, 1050 years .

Here ends the *History* of Manetho.

(b) According to Eusebius.

The Thirty-first Dynasty consisted of three Persian kings.

1. Ôchus in the twentieth year of his kingship over the Persians conquered Egypt, and ruled for 6 years.

2. His successor was Arsês, son of Ôchus, who reigned for 4 years.

3. Next, Darius reigned for 6 years: he was put to death by Alexander of Macedon.

These are the contents of the Third Book of Manetho.

Here ends the *History* of Manetho.

(c) Armenian Version of Eusebius.

The Thirty-first Dynasty consisted of Persian kings.

1. Ochus in the twentieth year of his kingship over the Persians seized Egypt and held it for 6 years.
2. His successor was Arses, son of Ochus, who reigned for 4 years.
3. Next, Darius reigned for 6 years: he was put to death by Alexander of Macedon.

These are the contents of the Third Book of Manetho.

OTHER FRAGMENTS



Translated by W. G. Waddell

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THE SACRED BOOK

Fr. 76 (*from* Eusebius).

Now the whole history of Egyptian and especially the details of Egyptian religion are expounded at length in Greek by Manetho the Egyptian, both in his *Sacred Book* and in other writings of his.

(*From* Theodoretus)

Manetho rehearsed the stories of Isis, Osiris, Apis, Serapis, and the other gods of Egypt.

Fr. 77 (*from* Plutarch, *Is. and Osir.* , ch. 9).

Further, the general belief is that the name Amûn, which we transform into Ammôn, is an Egyptian proper noun, the title of Zeus; but Manetho of Sebennytus is of opinion that this name has a meaning— “that which is concealed” and “concealment.”

Fr. 78 (*from* Plutarch, *Is. and Osir.* , ch. 49).

Some say that Bebôn was one of the comrades of Typhôn; but Manetho states that Typhôn himself was also called Bebôn. The name means “checking” or “prevention,” and implies that, when actions are proceeding in due course and tending to their required end, the power of Typhôn obstructs them.

Fr. 79 (*from* Plutarch, *Is. and Osir.* , ch. 62).

The usage of the Egyptians is also similar. They often call Isis by the name of Athena, which expresses some such meaning as “I came from Myself,”

and is indicative of self-originated movement. But Typhôn, as I have already mentioned, is called Sêth, Bebôn, and Smy, these names implying a certain violent and obstructive force, or a certain opposition or overthrow. Further, as Manetho records, they call the loadstone “the bone of Hôrus,” but iron “the bone of Typhôn.” Just as iron is often like to be attracted and led after the stone, but often again turns away and is repelled in the opposite direction, so the salutary, good, and rational movement of the world at one time attracts, conciliates, and by persuasion mollifies that harsh Typhonian power; then again, when at all has recovered itself, it overthrows the other and reduces it to helplessness.

Fr. 80 (*from Plutarch, Is. and Osir. , ch. 28*).

Ptolemy Sôtêr dreamed that he saw the colossal statue of Pluto at Sinôpê, although he did not know what manner of shape it had, having never previously seen it; and that it bade him convey it with all possible speed to Alexandria. The king was at a loss and did not know where the statue stood; but as he was describing the vision to his friends, there came forward a far-travelled man, by name Sôsibius, who declared that at Sinôpê he had seen just such a colossus as the king had dreamt he saw. He therefore despatched Sôtelês and Dionysius, who after a long time and with difficulty, though not unaided by divine providence, stole away the statue. When it was brought to Egypt and exhibited there, Timotheus the exêgêtês (expounder or interpreter), Manetho of Sebennytus, and their colleagues, judging by the Cerberus and the serpent, came to the conclusion that it was a statue of Pluto; and they convinced Ptolemy that it represented no other god than Serapis. For it had not come bearing this name from its distant home, but after being conveyed to Alexandria, it acquired the Egyptian name for Pluto, namely Serapis.

Fr. 81 (*from Aelian*).a

I am told also that Manetho the Egyptian, who attained the acme of wisdom, declared that one who tastes sow's milk is infected with leprosy or scall. All Asiatics, indeed, loathe these diseases. The Egyptians hold that the sow is abhorred by both Sun and Moon; so, when they celebrate the annual festival in honour of the Moon, they sacrifice swine¹¹ to the goddess, whereas at any other time they refuse to sacrifice this animal to the Moon or to any other deity.

AN EPITOME OF PHYSICAL DOCTRINES

Fr. 82 (*from* Diogenes Laertius).

The Egyptians hold the Sun and the Moon to be gods, the former being named Osiris, the latter Isis. They refer darkly to them under the symbols of beetle, serpent, hawk, and other creatures, as Manetho says in his *Epitome of Physical Doctrines* .

Fr. 83 (*from* Eusebius).

The Egyptians say that Isis and Osiris are the Moon and the Sun; that Zeus is the name which they gave to the all-pervading spirit, Hephaestus to fire, and Demeter to earth. Among the Egyptians the moist element is named Ocean and their own River Nile; and to him they ascribed the origin of the Gods. To Air, again, they give, it is said, the name of Athena. Now these five deities, — I mean Air, Water, Fire, Earth, and Spirit, — traverse the whole world, transforming themselves at different times into different shapes and semblances of men and creatures of all kinds. In Egypt itself there have also been born mortal men of the same names as these deities: they were called Hêlios, Cronos, Rhea, as well as Zeus, Hêra, Hêphaestus, and Hestia. Manetho writes on this subject at considerable length, while Diodorus gives a concise account. . . .

ON FESTIVALS

Fr. 84 (*from* Joannes Lydus).

It must be understood that Manetho in his book *On Festivals* states that a solar eclipse exercises a baneful influence upon men in their head and stomach.

On Ancient Ritual and Religion

Fr. 85 (*from* Porphyrius).

The rite of human sacrifice at Héliopolis (Eileithyiaspolis) in Egypt was suppressed by Amôsis, as Manetho testifies in his book *On Ancient Ritual and Religion* . Men were sacrificed to Hêra: they were examined, like the pure calves which are sought out and marked with a seal. Three men used to be sacrificed each day; but in their stead Amôsis ordered that the same number of waxen images should be offered.

Fr. 86 (*from* Plutarch, *Is. and Osir.* , ch. 73).

Now many say that the soul of Typhôn himself is diffused among these animals; and this fable would seem to hint that every irrational and bestial nature is partaker of the evil spirit, and that, while seeking to conciliate and appraise him, men tend and worship these animals. Should a long and severe drought occur, bringing with it an excess of deadly diseases or other strange and unaccountable calamities, the priests lead off some of the sacred animals quietly and in silence under cover of darkness, threatening them at first and trying to frighten them; but, should the visitation continue, they consecrate the animals and slaughter them, intending thus to inflict a kind of chastisement upon the spirit, or at least to offer a great atonement for

heinous offences. Moreover, in Eileithyiaspolis, as Manetho has related, they used to burn men alive, calling them “Typhôn’s followers”; and their ashes they would winnow and scatter broadcast until they were seen no more. But this was done openly and at a set time, namely in the dog-days; whereas the consecrations of sacred animals are secret ceremonies, taking place at irregular intervals as occasion demands, unknown to the common people except when the priests celebrate a funeral of Apis, and, displaying some of the animals, cast them together into the tomb in the presence of all, deeming that thus they are vexing Typhôn in return and curtailing his delight.

ON THE MAKING OF KYPHI

Fr. 87 (*from Plutarch, Is. and Osir. , ch. 80*).

Kyphi is a mixture of sixteen ingredients — honey, wine, raisins, cyperus [? galingale], resin, myrrh, aspalathus, seselis [hartwort]; mastic, bitumen, thryon [a kind of reed or rush], dock [monk's rhubarb], as well as of both junipers (arceuthids — one called the greater, the other the less), cardamom, and reed [orris-root, or root of sweet flag].

CRITICISMS OF HERODOTUS

Fr. 88 (from the *Etymologicum Magnum*).

The word λέων (“lion”) comes from λάω, “I see”: the animal has indeed the keenest of sight, as Manetho says in his *Criticism of Herodotus* that the lion never sleeps. But this is hard to believe.

(from *Eustathius*)

(Some say) that from λάω, “I see,” comes not only λέων, but also λίσ (a lion), according to Ôrus the grammarian, because of its keen sight; and they add, as Manetho states in his *Criticisms of Herodotus* , that the lion never sleeps. This is hard to believe.

APPENDIX I . PSEUDO-MANETHO

(from Syncellus)

It remains now to make brief extracts concerning the dynasties of Egypt from the works of Manetho Sebennytus. In the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus he was styled high-priest of the pagan temples of Egypt, and wrote from inscriptions in the Sêriadic land, traced, he says, in sacred language and holy characters by Thôth, the first Hermês, and translated after the Flood . . . in hieroglyphic characters. When the work had been arranged in books by Agathodaemôn, son of the second Hermês and father of Tat, in the temple-shrines of Egypt, Manetho dedicated it to the above King Ptolemy II Philadelphus in his *Book of Sôthis* , using the following words:

Letter of Manetho of Sebennytus to Ptolemy Philadelphus.

“To the great King Ptolemy Philadelphus Augustus. Greeting to my lord Ptolemy from Manetho, high-priest and scribe of the sacred shrines of Egypt, born at Sebennytus and dwelling at Hêliopolis. It is my duty, almighty king, to reflect upon all such matters as you may desire me to investigate. So, as you are making researches concerning the future of the universe, in obedience to your command I shall place before you the Sacred Books which I have studied, written you your forefather, Hermês Trismegistus. Farewell, I pray, my lord King.”

Such is his account of the translation of the books written by the second Hermês. Thereafter Manetho tells also of five Egyptian tribes which formed thirty dynasties . . .

(Fr. 2, , follows directly after this.)

APPENDIX II . ERATOSTHENES (?) (FROM SYNCELLUS)

Fr. 7 (a)

Kings of Thebes.

Apollodorus, the chronographer, recorded another dynasty of Egyptian kings, — the Thebans, as they are called, — thirty-eight kings ruling for 1076 years. This dynasty began in Anno Mundi 2900, and came to an end in Anno Mundi 3045 . The knowledge of these kings, he says, Eratosthenes took from Egyptian records and lists, and at the king's command he translated them into the Greek language, as follows:

Of the Theban kings in thirty-eight dynasties ruling 1124 years after the Dispersion,

1. The first was Mênês of Thebes, whose name, being interpreted, means “everlasting”. He reigned for 62 years. Anno mundi 2900.

2. The second king of Thebes was Athôthês, son of Mênês, for 59 years. His name, being interpreted, means “Born of Hermês”. Anno mundi 2962.

3. The third king of Thebes in Egypt was Athôthês II, for 32 years. Anno mundi 3021.

4. The fourth king of Thebes was Miabaês, son of Athôthis, for 19 years. His name, being interpreted, means “Bull-lover”. Anno mundi 3053.

5. The fifth king of Thebes was Pemphôs (? Sempsôs, Semempsês), son of Athôthis. His name is “descendant of Hêraclês,” and he reigned for 18 years. Anno mundi 3072.

Fr. 13

6. The sixth king of Thebes in Egypt was Momcheiri of Memphis, reigning for 79 years. His name, being interpreted, means “leader of men”. He had

exceeding large limbs (and was therefore irresistible). Anno mundi 3090.

7. The seventh king of Thebes in Egypt was his son, Stoichos. The name means “unfeeling Arê”. He reigned for 6 years. Anno mundi 3169.

8. The eighth king of Thebes in Egypt was Gosormiês, whose name means “all-demanding”. He reigned for 30 years. Anno mundi 3175.

9. The ninth king of Thebes in Egypt was his son, Marês, whose name means “gift of the Sun”. He reigned for 26 years. Anno mundi 3205.

10. The tenth king of Thebes in Egypt was Anôÿphis, whose name means “revelling”. He reigned for 20 years. Anno mundi 3231.

11. The eleventh king of Thebes in Egypt was Sirius, whose name means “son of the iris of the eye,” or, as others say, “unharméd by the evil eye”. He reigned for 18 years. Anno mundi 3251.

12. The twelfth king of Thebes in Egypt was Chnubos or Gneuros, which means “gold” or “golden son” (or his son). He reigned for 22 years. Anno mundi 3269.

13. The thirteenth king of Thebes in Egypt was Raÿôsis, which means “the arch-masterful”. He reigned for 13 years. Anno mundi 3291.

14. The fourteenth king of Thebes in Egypt was Biÿrês, who reigned for 10 years. Anno mundi 3304.

Fr. 17

15. The fifteenth king of Thebes in Egypt was Saôphis, “reveller,” or, according to some, “money-getter, trafficker”. He reigned for 29 years. Anno mundi 3314.

16. The sixteen king of Thebes was Saôphis II, who reigned for 27 years. Anno mundi 3343.

17. The seventeenth king of Thebes was Moscherês (? Mencherês), “gift of the Sun,” who reigned for 31 years. Anno mundi 3370.

18. The eighteenth king of Thebes was Mosthês (? Mencherês II), who reigned for 33 years. Anno mundi 3401.

19. The nineteenth king of Thebes was Pammês, “leader-like,” who reigned for 35 years. Anno mundi 3434.

Fr. 22

20. The twentieth king of Thebes was Apappûs (Pepi), “the very great”. He, they say, ruled for 100 years all but one hour. Anno mundi 3469.

21. The twenty-first king of Thebes was Echeskosokaras, for 1 year. Anno mundi 3569.

22. The twenty-second ruler of Thebes was Nitôcris, a queen, not a king. Her name means “Athêna the victorious,” and she reigned for 6 years. Anno mundi 3570.

Fr. 33

23. The twenty-third king of Thebes was Myrtaeus (Amyrtaeus), “gift of Ammôn,” for 22 years. Anno mundi 3576.

24. The twenty-fourth king of Thebes was Uôsimarês, “Mighty is the Sun,” for 12 years. Anno mundi 3598.

25. The twenty-fifth king of Thebes was Sethinilus (Thirillus), which means “having increased his ancestral power,” for 8 years. Anno mundi 3610.

26. The twenty-sixth king of Thebes was Semphrucratês, which means “Heraclês Harpocratês,” for 18 years. Anno mundi 3618.

27. The twenty-seventh king of Thebes was Chuthêr, “bull-lord,” for 7 years. Anno mundi 3636.

28. The twenty-eighth king of Thebes was Meurês (Mieirês), “loving the iris of the eye,” for 12 years. Anno mundi 3643.

29. The twenty-ninth king of Thebes was Chômaephtha (Tômaephtha), “world, loving Hêphaestus,” for 11 years. Anno mundi 3655.

30. The thirtieth king of Thebes was Soicunius (or Soicunis), † hochotyrannos, † (or Soicuniosochus the lord), for 60 years. Anno mundi 3666.

31. The thirty-first king of Thebes was Peteathyrês, for 16 years. Anno mundi 3726.

Fr. 37

32. The thirty-second king of Thebes was <Stammenemês I (Ammenemês I), for 26 years. Anno mundi 3742.

33. The thirty-third king of Thebes was> Stammenemês II (Ammenemês II), for 23 years. Anno mundi 3768.

34. The thirty-fourth king of Thebes was Sistosichermês, “valiant Hêraclês” (Sistosis or Sesortôsis, “valiant Hermês or Hêraclês”), for 55 years. Anno mundi 3791.

35. The thirty-fifth king of Thebes was Marês, for 43 years. Anno mundi 3846.

Fr. 40

36. The thirty-sixth king of Thebes was Siphthas, also called Hermês, “son of Hêphaestus,” for 5 years. Anno mundi 3889.

37. The thirty-seventh king of Thebes was Phruorô (Phuorô) or “the Nile,” for 5 (? 19) years. Anno mundi 3894.

38. The thirty-eighth king of Thebes was Amuthartaeus, for 63 years. Anno mundi 3913.

[Syncellus then adds () in much the same phrase as that quoted at the beginning of Appendix II: “These names Eratosthenes took from the sacred

scribes at Diospolis and translated from Egyptian into the Greek language.”]

APPENDIX III . THE OLD CHRONICLE

(from Syncellus)

Now, among the Egyptians there is current an old chronography, by which indeed, I believe, Manetho has been led into error.

In 30 dynasties with 113 generations, it comprises an immense period of time [not the same as Manetho gives] in 36,525 years, dealing first with the Aeritae, next with the Mestraei, and thirdly with the Egyptians. Its contents are somewhat as follows: —

Dynasties of the Gods according to the Old Chronicle

Hêphaestus has no period assigned, because he shines night and day. Hêlios [the Sun], son of Hêphaestus, ruled for 30,000 years. Then Cronos (it says) and the remaining gods, 12 in number, reigned altogether for 3984 years. Next, the eight demi-gods were kings for 217 years; and after them 15 generations of the Sôthic Cycle are recorded with 443 years.

Then follow:

The Sixteenth Dynasty of King of Tanis, in 8 generations, for 190 years.

The Seventeenth Dynasty of Kings of Memphis, in 4 generations, for 103 years.

The Eighteenth Dynasty of Kings of Memphis, in 14 generations, for 348 years.

The Nineteenth Dynasty of Kings of Diospolis, in 5 generations, for 194 years.

The Twentieth Dynasty of Kings of Diospolis, in 8 generations, for 228 years.

The Twenty-first Dynasty of Kings of Tanis, in 6 generations, for 121 years.

The Twenty-second Dynasty of Kings of Tanis, in 3 generations, for 48 years.

The Twenty-third Dynasty of Kings of Diospolis, in 2 generations, for 19 years.

The Twenty-fourth Dynasty of Kings of Saïs, in 3 generations, for 44 years.

The Twenty-fifth Dynasty of Ethiopian Kings, in 3 generations, for 44 years.

The Twenty-sixth Dynasty of Kings of Memphis, in 7 generations, for 177 years.

The Twenty-seventh Dynasty of Persian Kings, in 5 generations, for 124 years.

[The Twenty-eighth Dynasty is here omitted — one king of Saïs reigning for 6 years.]

Then comes the Twenty-ninth Dynasty of Kings of Tanis in <7> generations for 39 years; and finally the Thirtieth Dynasty consists of one King of Tanis for 18 years. The sum total of all the 30 Dynasties comprises 36,525 years.

If this total is broken up, or divided, 25 times into periods of 1461 years, it reveals the periodic return of the Zodiac which is commonly referred to in Egyptian and Greek books, that is, its revolution from one point back to that same point again, namely, the first minute of the first degree of the equinoctial sign of the Zodiac, the Ram as it is called by them, according to the account given in *The General Discourses of Hermês* and in the *Cyranides* .

Hence it was, I suppose, that Claudius Ptolemaeus announced that the ready astronomical tables should be calculated in periods of 25 years . . .

Hence, too, the lack of harmony between such systems and our Holy Scriptures, as well as between one system and another, may be explained by

the fact that this Egyptian record, which is held to be of great antiquity, assigns an immense period to Hêphaestus, and to the remaining 29 Dynasties 36,525 years, although Hêphaestus ruled over Egypt many years after the Flood and the Building of the Tower, as will be shown in the appropriate place.

The illustrious Egyptian Manetho, writing of these same 30 Dynasties, and obviously taking this as his starting-point, is widely divergent thereafter in the dates he gives, as one may learn both from what I have already said above, and from the remarks that will follow immediately. For in his three books, 113 generations are recorded in 30 Dynasties, and the time which he assigns amounts in all to 3555 years, beginning with Anno mundi 1586 and ending with 5147 , or some 15 years before the conquest of the world by Alexander of Macedon.

If therefore one subtracts from this total the 656 years before the Flood in order to make up [with 1586] the 2242 years from Adam to the Flood, — these 656 years being regarded as falsely assigned or non-existent, — and the 534 years from the Flood to the Building of the Tower, the Confusion of Tongues, and the Dispersion of the Peoples, one will clearly find the rise of the kingdom of Egypt under the first Egyptian king, Mestraïm, who is by Manetho called Mênês, which began in the year 2776, the year of Adam, and continued down to Nectanebô, the last king of Egypt. Thus the sum total from Mestraïm down to this Nectanebô is 2365 years, which takes us, as has already been stated, to Anno mundi 5147 approximately 15 years before the rule of Alexander the Founder.

APPENDIX IV . THE BOOK OF SÔTHIS OR THE SÔTHIC CYCLE

(from Syncellus)

The years of the kings of Egypt, called Mestraea of old.

1. Mestraïm, also called Mênês, 35 years.

2. Kourôdês, 63 years.

3. Aristarchus, 34 years.

4. Spanius, 36 years.

5 and 6. Two kings, unrecorded, 72 years.

7. Ôsiropis, 23 years.

8. Sesonchôsis, 49 years.

9. Amenemês, 29 years.

10. Amasis, 2 years.

11. Acecephthrês, 13 years.

12. Anchoreus, 9 years.

13. Armîyses, 4 years.

14. Chamoïs, 12 years.

15. Miamûs, 14 years.
16. Amesêsis, 65 years.
17. Usês, 50 years.
18. Ramesês, 29 years.
19. Rames(s)omenês, 15 years.
20. Usimarê(s), 31 years.
21. Ramessêseôs, 23 years.
22. Ramessamenô, 19 years.

He is the first Pharaoh mentioned in the Holy Scriptures. In his reign the patriarch Abraham went down into Egypt.

23. Ramessê Iubassê, 39 years.
24. Ramessê, son of Uaphrês, 29 years.
25. Concharis, 5 years.

In this 5th year of Concharis, the 25th king of Egypt, during the Sixteenth Dynasty of the Sôthic Cycle as it is called in Manetho, the total of years from the first king and founder of Egypt, Mestraïm, is 700 belonging to 25 kings, *i.e.* from the general cosmic year 2776, in which the Dispersion took place in the 34th year of the rule of Arphaxad and the 5th year of Phalec. Next in the succession were 4 kings of Tanis, who ruled Egypt in the Seventeenth Dynasty for 254 years, according to the following computation.

26. Silitês (the first of the 6 kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty in Manetho), 19 years.

27. Baiôn, 44 years.

28. Apachnas, 36 years.

29. Aphôphis, 61 years.

Some say that this king was at first called Pharaoh, and that in the 4th year of his kingship Joseph came as a slave into Egypt. He appointed Joseph lord of Egypt and all his kingdom in the 17th year of his rule, having learned from him the interpretation of the dreams and having thus proved his divine wisdom. The Holy Scriptures, however, give the name of Pharaoh also to the king of Egypt in the time of Abraham.

30. Sethôs, 50 years.

31. Cêrtôs, according to Josephus, 29 years; according to Manetho, 44 years.

32. Asêth, 20 years.

This king added the 5 intercalary days to the year: in his reign, they say, the Egyptian year became a year of 365 days, being previously reckoned as 360 days only. In his time the bull-calf was deified and called Apis.

33. Amôsis, also called Tethmôsis, 26 years.

34. Chebrôn, 13 years.

35. Amemphis, 15 years.

36. Amensês, 11 years.

37. Misphragmuthôsis, 16 years.

38. Misphrês, 23 years.

39. Tuthmôsis, 39 years.

40. Amenôphthis, 34 years.

This is the king who was reputed to be Memnôn and a speaking statue. Many years later Cambysês, the Persian king, cut this statue in two, deeming that there was sorcery in it, as Polyænus of Athens relates.

The Ethiopians, removing from the River Indus, settled near Egypt.

41. Ôrus, 48 years.

42. Achencherês, 25 years.

43. Athôris, 29 years.

44. Chencherês, 26 years.

45. Achêrrês, 8 or 30 years.

46. Armaeus, also called Danaus, 9 years.

This king, fleeing from his brother Ramessês, also called Aegyptus, was driven from his kingdom of Egypt and came to Greece. Ramessês, his brother, whose other name was Aegyptus, ruled Egypt for 68 years, changing the name of his country to Egypt after his own name. Its previous name was Mestraea, and among the Greeks Aeria. Now Danaus or Armaeus

took possession of Argos and, driving out Sthenelus the son of Crotôpus, ruled over the Argives. His descendants thereafter were called Danaïdae down to Eurystheus son of Sthenelus, the son of Perseus. Next to these, after Pelops the Pelopidae succeeded to the kingdom: the first of these was Atreus.

47. Ramessês, also called Aegyptus, 68 years.

48. Amenôphis, 8 years.

49. Thuôris, 17 years.

50. Nechepsôs, 19 years.

51. Psammuthis, 13 years.

52. ———, 4 years.

53. Cêrtôs, 20 years.

54. Rampsis, 45 years.

55. Amensês, also called Ammenemês, 26 years.

56. Ochyras, 14 years.

57. Amendês, 27 years.

58. Thuôris, 50 years.

This is the Polybus of Homer, who appears in the *Odyssey* as husband of Alcandra: the poet tells how Menelaus and Helen dwelt with him in their wanderings after the capture of Troy.

59. Athôthis, also called Phusanus, 28 years.

In his reign earthquakes occurred in Egypt, although previously unknown there.

60. Cencenês, 39 years.

61. Uennephis, 42 years.

62. Susakeim, 34 years.

This king brought up Libyans, Ethiopians, and Trôglodytes before Jerusalem.

63. Psuenus, 25 years.

64. Ammenôphis, 9 years.

65. Nephecherês, 6 years.

66. Saïtês, 15 years.

67. Psinachês, 9 years.

68. Petubastês, 44 years.

69. Osôrthôn, 9 years.

70. Psammus, 10 years.

71. Concharis, 21 years.

72. Osôrthôn, 15 years.

73. Tacalôphis, 13 years.

74. Bocchôris, 44 years.

This king made laws for the Egyptians: in his time report has it that a lamb spoke.

75. Sabacôn, an Ethiopian, 12 years.

This king, taking Bocchôris captive, burned him alive.

76. Sebêchôn, 12 years.

77. Taracês, 20 years.

78. Amaês, 38 years.

79. Stephinathês, 27 years.

80. Nechepsus, 13 years.

81. Nechaô, 8 years.

82. Psammêtichus, 14 years.

83. Nechaô II (Pharaoh), 9 years.

84. Psamuthês the Second, also called Psammêtichus, 17 years.

85. Uaphris, 34 years.

86. Amôsis, 50 years.

The Greek and Latin Texts



Bust of Ptolemy I in the Louvre Museum — although no sources for the dates of Manetho's life and death remain, he is associated with the reign of Ptolemy I Soter (323–283 BC) by Plutarch.

LIST OF GREEK AND LATIN TEXTS



In this section of the eBook, you can view the original texts of Manetho's fragments. You may wish to Bookmark this page for future reference.

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THE HISTORY OF EGYPT

BOOK I.

Fr. I. Eusebius, Chronica I. (Armenian Version), p. 93 (Mai).

Ex Aegyptiacis Manethonis monumentis, qui in tres libros historiam suam tribuit, — de diis et de heroibus, de manibus et de mortalibus regibus qui Aegypto praefuerunt usque ad regem Persarum Darium.

Primus homo (deus) Aegyptiis Vulcanus est, qui etiam ignis repertor apud eos celebratur. Ex eo Sol; [postea Sôsis;] deinde Saturnus; tum Osiris; exin Osiridis frater Typhon; ad extremum Orus, Osiridis et Isidis filius. Hi primi inter Aegyptios rerum potiti sunt. Deinceps continuata successione delapsa est regia auctoritas usque ad Bydin (Bitem) per annorum tredecim milia ac nongentos. Lunarem tamen annum intelligo, videlicet xxx diebus constantem: quem enim nunc mensem dicimus, Aegyptii olim anni nomine indigitabant.

Post deos regnarunt heroes annis MCCLV: rursusque alii reges dominati sunt annis MDCCCXVII: turn alii triginta reges Memphitae annis MDCCXC: deinde alii Thinitae decem reges annis CCCL.

Secuta est manium heroumque dominatio annis MMMMMDCCCXIII.

Summa temporis in mille et myriadem consurgit annorum, qui tamen lunares, nempe menstrui, sunt. Sed revera dominatio, quam nan ant Aegyptii, deorum, heroum, et manium tenuisse putatur lunarium annorum omnino viginti quattuor milia et nongentos, ex quibus fiunt solares anni MMCCVI.

Atque haec si cum Hebraeorum chronologia conferre volueris, in eandem plane sententiam conspirare videbis. Namque Aegyptus ab Hebraeis Mestraïmus appellatur: Mestraïmus autem [haud] multo post diluvium tempore exstitit. Quippe ex Chamo, Noachi filio, post diluvium ortus est Aegyptus sive Mestraïmus, qui primus ad Aegypti incolatum profectus est, qua tempestate gentes hac iliac spargi coeperunt. Erat autem

summa temporis ab Adamo ad diluvium secundum Hebraeos annorum MMCCXLII.

Ceterum quum Aegyptii praerogativa antiquitatis quadam seriem ante diluvium tenere se iactent Deorum, Heroum, et Manium annorum plus viginti milia regnantium, plane aequum est ut hi anni in menses tot convertantur quot ab Hebraeis memorantur anni: nempe ut qui menses continentur in memoratis apud Hebraeos annis, ii totidem intelligantur Aegyptiorum lunares anni, pro ea temporum summa, quae a primo condito homine ad Mestraïmum usque colligitur. Sane Mestraïmus generis Aegyptiaci auctor fuit, ab eoque prima Aegyptiorum dynastia manare credenda est.

Quodsi temporum copia adhuc exuberet, reputandum est plures fortasse Aegyptiorum reges una eademque aetate exstitisse; namque et Thinitas regnavisse aiunt et Memphitas et Saïtas et Aethiopes eodemque tempore alios. Videntur praeterea alii quoque alibi imperium tenuisse: atque hae dynastiae suo quaeque in nomo semet continuisse: ita ut baud singuli reges successivam potestatem acceperint, sed alius alio loco eadem aetate regnaverit. Atque hinc contigit, ut tantus numerus annorum confieret. Nos vero, his omissis, persequamur singillatim Aegyptiorum chronologiam.

(Continued in Fr. [7] (b).)

Fr. 2. Syncellus, p. 73.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ περὶ ἔθνων Αἰγυπτιακῶν πέντε ἐν τριάκοντα δυναστείαις ἱστορεῖ τῶν λεγομένων παρ' αὐτοῖς θεῶν καὶ ἡμιθέων καὶ νεκύων καὶ θνητῶν, ὧν καὶ Εὐσέβιος ὁ Παμφίλου μνησθεὶς ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς αὐτοῦ φησὶν οὕτως:

“Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ θεῶν καὶ ἡμιθέων καὶ παρὰ τούτοις νεκύων καὶ θνητῶν ἐτέρων βασιλέων πολλὴν καὶ φλύαρον συνείρουσι μυθολογίαν· οἱ γὰρ παρ’ αὐτοῖς παλαιότατοι σεληναίους ἔφασκον εἶναι τοὺς ἐνιαυτοὺς ἐξ ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα συνεστῶτας, οἱ δὲ μετὰ τούτους ἡμίθεοι ὥρους ἐκάλουν τοὺς ἐνιαυτοὺς τοὺς τριμηνιαίους.”

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Εὐσέβιος μεμφόμενος αὐτοῖς τῆς φλυαρίας εὐλόγως συνέγραψεν, ὃν ὁ Πανόδωρος οὐ καλῶς, ὥς οἶμαι, ἐν τούτῳ μέμφεται, λέγων ὅτι ἠπόρησε διαλύσασθαι τὴν ἔννοιαν τῶν συγγραφέων, ἣν αὐτὸς καινότερόν τι δοκῶν κατορθοῦν λέγει:

“Ἐπειδὴ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀδάμ πλάσεως ἕως τοῦ Ἐνώχ, ἥτοι τοῦ καθολικοῦ κοσμικοῦ ,ασπβ’ ἔτους, οὔτε μηνὸς οὔτε ἐνιαυτοῦ ἀριθμὸς ἡμερῶν ἐγνωρίζετο, οἱ δὲ ἐγρήγοροι, κατελθόντες ἐπὶ τοῦ καθολικοῦ κοσμικοῦ χιλιοστοῦ ἔτους, συναναστραφέντες τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐδίδαξαν αὐτοὺς τοὺς κύκλους τῶν δύο φωστήρων δωδεκαζωδίου εἶναι ἐκ μοιρῶν τριακοσίων ἐξήκοντα, οἱ δὲ ἀποβλέψαντες εἰς τὸν περιγειότερον, μικρότερον καὶ εὐδηλότερον τριακονθήμερον σεληνιακὸν κύκλον ἐθέσπισαν εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἀριθμεῖσθαι, διὰ τὸ καὶ τὸν τοῦ ἡλίου κύκλον ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς δώδεκα ζωδίοις πληροῦσθαι ἐν ἰσαρίθμοις μοίραις τξ’. ὅθεν συνέβη τὰς βασιλείας τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς βασιλευσάντων θεῶν γενεῶν ἕξ, ἐν δυναστείαις ἕξ, κατ’ ἔτη ἐν σεληνιακοῖς τριακονθήμεροις κύκλοις παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἀριθμεῖσθαι· ἃ καὶ συνῆξαν σελήνια α’ ,αχπε’ ἔτη, ἡλιακὰ χξθ’. ταῦτα δὲ συναριθμούμενα τοῖς πρὸ τῆς τούτων βασιλείας ἡλιακοῖς ,ανη’ ἔτεσι συνάγουσιν ὁμάδα ἐτῶν ,βκζ’.” ὁμοίως δὲ κατὰ τὰς δύο δυναστείας τῶν ἐννέα ἡμιθέων τῶν μηδέποτε γεγονότων ὡς γεγονότων ἔτη σιδ’ καὶ ἥμισυ σπουδάζει συνιστᾶν ἀπὸ τῶν ωνη’ ὥρων, ἥτοι τρόπων, ὡς γίνεσθαι φησι, σὺν χξθ’, ,αργ’ καὶ ἥμισυ ἔτη, καὶ συναπτόμενα τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ μέχρι τῆς τῶν θεῶν βασιλείας ,ανη’ ἔτεσι συνάγειν ἔτη ,βσμβ’ ἕως τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Πανόδωρος τὰς κατὰ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν Αἰγυπτιακὰς συγγραφὰς συμφωνεῖν αὐταῖς ἀγωνίζεται δεικνύναι,

μεμφόμενος τὸν Εὐσέβιον, μὴ εἰδὼς ὅτι καθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀποδέδεικται ταῦτα αὐτοῦ τὰ ἀναπόδεικτά τε καὶ ἀσυλλόγιστα, εἴ γε . . . οὔτε Βαβυλὼν ἢ Χαλδαϊκὴ πρὸ τοῦ κατακλισμοῦ οὔτε ἡ Αἴγυπτος πρὸ τοῦ Μεστρέμ ἐβασίλευθη, οἶμαι δ' ὅτι οὐδ' ὤκισθη . . .

Fr. 3. Syncellus, p. 32.

Περὶ τῆς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀρχαιολογίας.

Μανεθὼ ὁ Σεβεννύτης ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μιαρῶν ἱερῶν μετὰ Βήρωσσον γενόμενος ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου γράφει τῷ αὐτῷ Πτολεμαίῳ, ψευδηγορῶν καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς ὁ Βήρωσσος, περὶ δυναστειῶν ζ' ἦτοι θεῶν τῶν μηδέποτε γεγονότων ζ', οἷ, φησὶ, διαγεγόνασιν ἐπὶ ἔτη α' ,α,πε'. ὧν πρῶτος, φησὶ, θεὸς Ἥφαιστος ἔτη ,θ' ἐβασίλευσε. ταῦτα τὰ ,θ ἔτη πάλιν τινὲς τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἱστορικῶν ἀντὶ μηνῶν σεληνιακῶν λογισάμενοι καὶ μερίσαντες τὸ τῶν ἡμερῶν πλῆθος τῶν αὐτῶν ,θ σεληνίων παρὰ τὰς τριακοσίας ἐξήκοντα πέντε ἡμέρας τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ συνῆξαν ἔτη ψκζ' ~ζ', ξένον τι δοκοῦντες κατωρθωκέναι, γελοίων δὲ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν ἄξιον τὸ ψεῦδος τῇ ἀληθείᾳ συμβιβάζοντες.

Πρώτη δυναστεία Αἰγυπτίων.

α' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἥφαιστος ἔτη ψκζ' ~δ'.

β' Ἥλιος Ἥφαιστου, ἔτη π' ζ'.

γ' Ἀγαθοδαίμων, ἔτη νς' ~ιβ'.

δ' Κρόνος, ἔτη μ' ~.

ε' Ὅσιρις καὶ Ἴσις, ἔτη λε'.

ζ' Τύφων, ἔτη κθ'.

ζ' Ὠρος ἡμίθεος, ἔτη κε'.

η' Ἄρης ἡμίθεος, ἔτη κγ'.

θ' Ἄνουβις ἡμίθεος, ἔτη ιζ'.

ι' Ἡρακλῆς ἡμίθεος, ἔτη ιε'.

ια' Ἀπόλλων ἡμίθεος, ἔτη κε'.

ιβ' Ἄμμων ἡμίθεος, ἔτη λ'.

ιγ' Τιθοῆς ἡμίθεος, ἔτη κζ'.

ιδ' Σῶσος ἡμίθεος, ἔτη λβ'.

ιε' Ζεὺς ἡμίθεος, ἔτη κ'.

Fr. 4. Excerpta Laina Barbari (Schöne, p. 215).

Egyptiorum regnum invenimus vetustissimum omnium regnorum; cuius initium sub Manethono dicitur memoramus scribere. Primum deorum qui ab ipsis scribuntur faciam regna sic:

Ifestum [i.e. Hephaestum] dicunt quidam deum regnare in Aegypto annos sexcentos LXXX: post hunc Solem Iphesti annos LXXVII: post istum Sosinosirim annos CCCXX: post hunc Oron ptoliarchum annos XXVIII: post hunc Tyfona annos XLV. Colliguntur deorum regna anni mille DL.

Deinceps Mitheorum regna sic:

Prota Anube S[amusim, qui etiam Aegyptiorum scripturas composuit]
annos LXXXIII.

[Post hunc Apiona grammaticus qui secundum Inachum interpretaetur
annos LXVII quem sub Argios initio regnaverunt.]

Post hec Ecyniorum reges interpretaetur, Imitheus vocans et ipsos . . .
annos duo milia C, fortissimos vocans.

Mineus et pronepotes ipsius VII regnaverunt annos CCLIII.

Bochus et aliorum octo annos CCCII.

Necherocheus et aliorum VII annos CCXIV.

Similiter aliorum XVII annos CCLXXVII.

Similiter aliorum XXI annos CCLVIII.

Othoi et aliorum VII annos CCIII.

Similiter et aliorum XIV annos CXL.

Similiter et aliorum XX annos CCCCIX.

Similiter et aliorum VII annos CCIV.

Hec finis de primo tomo Manethoni habens tempora annorum duo milia C.

Potestas Diopolitanorum annos LX.

Potestas Bubastariorum annos CLIII.

XIII. Potestas Tanitorum annos CLXXXIV.

XIV. Potestas Sebennitorum annos CCXXIV.

XV. Potestas Memfitorum annos CCCXVIII.

XVI. Potestas Iliopolitorum annos CCXXI.

XVII. Potestas Ermupolitorum annos CCLX.

Usque ad septimam decimam potestatem secundum scribitur totum, ut docet numerum habentem annos mille quingentos XX. Haec sunt potestates Aegyptiorum.

Fr. 5. Malalas, Chronographia, p. 25 (Migne, Patrologia Graeca, Vol. 97).

Ταῦτα δὲ τὰ παλαιὰ καὶ ἀρχαῖα βασίλεια τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Μανέθων συνεγράψατο· ἐν οἷς συγγράμμασιν αὐτοῦ ἐμφέρεται ἄλλως λέγεσθαι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας τῶν πέντε πλανητῶν ἀστέρων. Τὸν γὰρ λεγόμενον Κρόνον ἀστέρα ἐκάλουν τὸν λάμποντα, τὸν δὲ Διὸς τὸν φαέθοντα, τὸν δὲ Ἄρεος τὸν πυρώδη, τὸν δὲ Ἀφροδίτης τὸν κάλλιστον, τὸν δὲ Ἑρμοῦ τὸν στίλβοντα· ἅτινα μετὰ ταῦτα Σωτάτης ὁ σοφώτατος ἡρμήνευσε. Cf. id., p. 59: Αἰγυπτίων δὲ ἐβασίλευσε πρῶτος βασιλεὺς τῆς φυλῆς τοῦ Χάμ, υἱοῦ Νῶε, Φαραὼ ὁ καὶ Ναραχὼ καλούμενος. Τὰ οὖν πρὸ τούτου παλαιὰ βασίλεια Αἰγυπτίων ἐξέθετο Μανέθων ὁ σοφώτατος, ὡς προεῖρηται.

Fr. 6. Syncellus, p. 99.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ Μεστραῖμ Αἰγυπτιακῶν δυναστειῶν οἱ χρόνοι ἕως Νεκταναβῶ χρειώδεις τυγχάνουσιν ἐν πολλοῖς τοῖς περὶ τὰς χρονικὰς καταγινόμενοις ζητήσεις, αὐταὶ δὲ παρὰ Μανεθῶ ληφθεῖσαι τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς ἱστορικοῖς διαπεφωνημένως κατὰ τε τὰς αὐτῶν

προσηγορίας καὶ τὴν ποσότητα τῶν χρόνων τῆς βασιλείας ἐκδέδονται, ἐπὶ τίνος τε αὐτῶν Ἰωσήφ ἡγεμόνευσε τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ὁ θεόπτης Μωϋσῆς τῆς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου πορείας ἡγήσατο, ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην δύο τῶν ἐπισημοτάτων ἐκδόσεις ἐκλέξασθαι καὶ ταύτας ἀλλήλαις παραθέσθαι, Ἀφρικανοῦ τέ φημι καὶ τοῦ μετ' αὐτὸν Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου καλουμένου, ὡς ἂν τὴν ἐγγίζουσαν τῇ γραφικῇ ἀληθείᾳ δόξαν ὀρθῶς ἐπιβάλλων τις καταμάθοι, τοῦτο πρό γε πάντων εἰδὼς ἀκριβῶς, ὅτι Ἀφρικανὸς μὲν εἴκοσιν ἔτη προστίθῃσιν ἐν τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ ἕως τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ χρόνοις, καὶ ἀντὶ ,βσμβ' ,βςξβ' ἔτη βούλεται εἶναι, ὅπερ οὐ δοκεῖ καλῶς ἔχειν. Εὐσέβιος δὲ ,βσμβ' ὑγιῶς ἔθετο καὶ ὁμοφώνως τῇ γραφῇ. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ἀμφοτέρω διήμαρτον ἕως τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Μωϋσέως ἔτεσι ρλ' τοῦ δευτέρου Καῖνᾶν υἱοῦ Ἀρφαξὰδ καὶ γενεᾶ μιᾶ, τῇ ιγ', παρὰ τῷ θείῳ εὐαγγελιστῇ Λουκᾶ, ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ κειμένη. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Ἀφρικανὸς ἐν τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ προστεθεῖσιν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἔτεσιν κ' προαφήρπαξε ταῦτα, καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Καῖνᾶν καὶ τῶν μετέπειτα ρι' μόνα λείπεται. διὸ καὶ ἕως Ἀβραὰμ πρώτου ἔτους ,γσβ' ἔτη ἐστοιχείωσεν. ὁ δὲ Εὐσέβιος ὁλοκλήρως τὰ ρλ' ὑφελών, ,γρπδ' ἕως πρώτου ἔτους Ἀβραὰμ ἐξέδωκε.

ΚΑΤΑ ΑΦΡΙΚΑΝΟΝ.

Περὶ τῶν [μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν] Αἰγύπτου δυναστειῶν, ὡς ὁ Ἀφρικανός.

α' Μετὰ νέκυας τοὺς ἡμιθέους πρώτη βασιλεία καταριθμεῖται βασιλέων ὀκτώ, ὧν πρῶτος Μήνης Θινίτης ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ξβ'· ὃς ὑπὸ ἵπποποτάμου διαρπαγεὶς διεφθάρη.

β' Ἄθωθις υἱός, ἔτη νζ', ὁ τὰ ἐν Μέμφει βασιλεία οἰκοδομήσας· οὗ φέρονται βίβλοι ἀνατομικαί, ἱατρὸς γὰρ ἦν.

γ' Κενκένης υἱός, ἔτη λα'.

δ' Ουενέφης υἱός, ἔτη κγ'· ἐφ' οὗ λιμὸς κατέσχε τὴν Αἴγυπτον μέγας. οὗτος τὰς περὶ Κωχώμην ἤγειρε πυραμίδας.

ε' Οὐσαφαῖδος υἱός, ἔτη κ'.

ς' Μιεβιδὸς υἱός, ἔτη κς'.

ζ' Σεμέμψης υἱός, ἔτη ιη'· ἐφ' οὗ φθορὰ μεγίστη κατέσχε τὴν Αἴγυπτον.

η' Βιηνεχὴς υἱός, ἔτη κς'.

Όμοῦ, ἔτη σνγ'.

Τὰ τῆς πρώτης δυναστείας οὕτω πως καὶ Εὐσέβιος ὡς ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς ἐξέθετο.

Fr. 7 (a). Syncellus, p. 102. KATA EYSEBION.

Περὶ τῶν [μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν] Αἰγυπτίων δυναστειῶν, ὡς Εὐσέβιος.

Μετὰ νέκυας καὶ τοὺς ἡμιθέους πρώτην δυναστείαν καταριθμοῦσι βασιλέων ὀκτώ· ὧν γέγονε Μήνης, ὃς διασήμως αὐτῶν ἠγήσατο. ἀφ' οὗ τοὺς ἐξ ἐκάστου γένους βασιλεύσαντας ἀναγράψομεν ὧν ἡ διαδοχὴ τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον:

α' Μήνης Θινίτης καὶ οἱ τούτου ἀπόγονοι [ιζ', ἐν ἄλλῳ δὲ] ζ'. ὃν Ἡρόδοτος Μῆνα ὠνόμασεν, ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτεσιν ξ'. οὗτος ὑπερόριον στρατείαν ἐποιήσατο καὶ ἔνδοξος ἐκρίθη, ὑπὸ δὲ ἱπποποτάμου ἠρπάσθη.

β' Ἀθωθις ὁ τούτου υἱὸς ἥρξεν ἔτεσιν κς', καὶ τὰ ἐν Μέμφει βασιλεία ὠκοδόμησεν, ἰατρικὴν τε ἐξήσκησε καὶ βίβλους ἀνατομικὰς συνέγραψε.

γ' Κενκένης ὁ τούτου υἱός, ἔτη λθ'.

δ' Οὐενέφης, ἔτη μβ'· ἐφ' οὗ λιμὸς κατέσχε τὴν χώραν, ὃς καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας τὰς περὶ Κωχώμην ἤγειρε.

ε' Οὐσαφάϊς, ἔτη κ'.

ς' Νιεβάϊς, ἔτη κς'.

ζ' Σεμέμψης, ἔτη ιη'· ἐφ' οὗ πολλὰ παράσημα ἐγένετο καὶ μεγίστη φθορά.

η' Οὐβιένθης, ἔτη κς'.

Οἱ πάντες ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη συνβ'.

(b) Eusebius, *Chronica* I. (Armenian Version), pp. 94 sqq.

Post manes atque heroas primam dynastiam numerant VIII regum, quorum primus fuit Menes, gloria regni administrandi praepollens: a quo exorsi singulas regnantium familias diligenter scribemus, quarum successiva series ita contextitur:

Menes Thinites eiusque posteri septem (quem Herodotus Mina nuncupavit). Hic annis XXX regnavit. Idem et extra regionis suae fines cum exercitu progressus est, et gloria rerum gestarum inclaruit. Ab hippopotamo genio raptus est.

Athothis, huius filius, regno potitus est annis XXVII. Is regia sibi palatia Memphi construxit, et medicam item artem coluit, quin et libros de ratione secandorum corporum scripsit.

Cencenes eius filius, annis XXXIX.

Vavenephis, annis XLII, cuius aetate fames regionem corripuit. Is pyramidas prope Cho oppidum excitavit.

Usaphaïs, annis XX.

Niebaïs, annis XXVI.

Mempses, annis XVIII. Sub boc multa prodigia itemque maxima lues acciderunt.

Vibenthis, annis XXVI.

Summa dominationis annorum CCLII.

Fr. 8. Syncellus, p. 101. KATA AΦPIKANON.

Δευτέρα δυναστεία Θινιτῶν βασιλέων ἑννέα, ὧν πρῶτος Βοηθός, ἔτη λη´· ἐφ´ οὗ χάσμα κατὰ Βούβαστον ἐγένετο καὶ ἀπώλοντο πολλοί.

β´ Καιέχως, ἔτη λθ´· ἐφ´ οὗ οἱ βόες Ἴαπυς ἐν Μέμφει καὶ Μνεῦις ἐν Ἥλιουπόλει καὶ ὁ Μενδήσιος τράγος ἐνομίσθησαν εἶναι θεοί.

γ´ Βίνωθρις, ἔτη μζ´· ἐφ´ οὗ ἐκρίθη τὰς γυναῖκας βασιλείας γέρας ἔχειν.

δ´ Τλάς, ἔτη ιζ´.

ε´ Σεθένης, ἔτη μα´.

ς´ Χαίρης, ἔτη ιζ´.

ζ´ Νεφερχέρης, ἔτη κε´· ἐφ´ οὗ μυθεύεται τὸν Νεῖλον μέλιτι κεκραμένον ἡμέρας ἑνδεκα ῥυῆναι.

η' Σέσωχρις, ἔτη μη', ὅς ὕψος εἶχε πηχῶν ε', παλαιστῶν γ'.

θ' Χενερίης, ἔτη λ'.

Όμοῦ, ἔτη τβ'.

Όμοῦ πρώτης καὶ δευτέρας δυναστείας [μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν] ἔτη φνε' κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν ἔκδοσιν Ἀφρικανοῦ.

Fr. 9. Syncellus, p. 103. KATA EYSEBION.

Δευτέρα δυναστεία βασιλέων ἑννέα.

Πρῶτος Βῶχος, ἐφ' οὗ χάσμα κατὰ Βούβαστον ἐγένετο, καὶ πολλοὶ ἀπώλοντο.

Μεθ' ὃν δεύτερος Καιχῶος, ὅτε καὶ ὁ Ἄπις καὶ ὁ Μνεῦις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Μενδήσιος τράγος θεοὶ ἐνομίσθησαν.

γ' Βίοφης, ἐφ' οὗ ἐκρίθη καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας βασιλείας γέρας ἔχειν. καὶ μετὰ τούτους ἄλλοι τρεῖς, ἐφ' ὧν οὐδὲν παράσημον ἐγένετο.

ζ' Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐβδόμου μυθεύεται τὸν Νεῖλον μέλιτι κεκραμένον ἡμέραις ἑνδεκα ῥυῆναι.

η' Μεθ' ὃν Σέσωχρις [, ἔτη] μη', ὅς λέγεται γεγονέναι ὕψος ἔχων πηχῶν ε', παλαιστῶν γ' τὸ μέγεθος.

θ' Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ θ' οὐδὲν ἀξιομνημόνευτον ὑπῆρχεν. Οἱ καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτεσι σζζ'.

Όμοῦ πρώτης καὶ δευτέρας δυναστείας ἔτη φμθ' κατὰ τὴν ἔκδοσιν Εὐσεβίου.

Fr. 10. Eusebius, Chronica I. (Armenian Version), p. 96.

Secunda dynastia regum IX.

Primus Bochus: sub eo specus ingens Bubasti subsedit multosque mortales hausit.

Post eum Cechous, quo tempore Apis et Mnevis atque Mendesius hircus dii esse putabantur.

Deinde Biophis, sub quo lege statutum est, ut feminae quoque regiam dignitatem obtinerent.

Tum alii tres, quorum aetate nullum insigne facinus patratum est.

Sub septimo mythici aiunt flumen Nilum melle simul et aqua fluxisse undecim diebus.

Postea Sesochris annis XLVIII, quem aiunt quinque cubitos altum, tres vero palmos latum fuisse.

Sub nono tandem nihil memoria dignum actum est.

Hi regnaverunt annis CCXCVII.

Fr. 11. Syncellus, p. 104. ΑΦΡΙΚΑΝΟΥ.

Τρίτη δυναστεία Μεμφιτῶν βασιλέων ἑννέα, ὧν α' Νεχερώφης, ἔτη κη'· ἐφ' οὗ Λίβυες ἀπέστησαν Αἰγυπτίων, καὶ τῆς σελήνης παρὰ λόγον αὐξηθείσης διὰ δέος ἑαυτοὺς παρέδοσαν.

β' Τόσορθρος, ἔτη κθ', [ἐφ' οὗ Ἰμούθης]. οὗτος Ἀσκληπιὸς [παρὰ τοῖς] Αἰγυπτίοις κατὰ τὴν ἰατρικὴν νενόμισται, καὶ τὴν διὰ ξεστῶν λίθων οἰκοδομίαν εὗρατο· ἀλλὰ καὶ γραφῆς ἐπεμελήθη.

γ' Τύρεις, ἔτη ζ'.

δ' Μέσωχρις, ἔτη ιζ'.

ε' Σώϋφρις, ἔτη ις'.

ς' Τοσέρτασις, ἔτη ιθ'.

ζ' Ἄχρις, ἔτη μβ'.

η' Σήφουρις, [ἔτη] λ'.

θ' Κερφέρης, ἔτη κς'.

Όμοϋ, ἔτη σιδ'.

Όμοϋ τῶν τριῶν δυναστειῶν κατὰ Ἀφρικανὸν ἔτη ψξθ'.

Fr. 12 (a). Syncellus, p. 106. KATA EYSEBION.

Τρίτη δυναστεία Μεμφιτῶν βασιλέων ὀκτώ,

α' Νεχέρωχρις, ἐφ' οὗ Λίβυες ἀπέστησαν Αἰγυπτίων, καὶ τῆς σελήνης παρὰ λόγον αὐξηθείσης διὰ δέος ἑαυτοὺς παρέδοσαν.

β' Μεθ' ὃν Σέσορθος . . ., ὃς Ἀσκληπιὸς παρὰ Αἰγυπτίοις ἐκλήθη διὰ τὴν ἰατρικὴν. οὗτος καὶ τὴν διὰ ξεστῶν λίθων οἰκοδομὴν εὗρατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ γραφῆς ἐπεμελήθη.

Οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐξ οὐδὲν ἀξιομνημόνευτον ἔπραξαν.

Οἱ καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτεσιν ρ⁴η'.

Ὅμοῦ τῶν τριῶν δυναστειῶν κατὰ τὸν Εὐσέβιον ἔτη ψμζ´.

(b) Eusebius, *Chronica* I. (Armenian Version), p. 96.

Tertia dynastia Memphitarum regum VIII.

Necherochis, sub quo Libyes ab Aegyptiis defecerunt: mox intempestive crescente luna territi ad obsequium reversi sunt.

Deinde Sosorthus . . ., qui ob medicam artem Aesculapius ab Aegyptiis vocitatus est. Is etiam sectis lapidibus aedificiorum struendorum auctor fuit: libris praeterea scribendis curam impendit.

Sex reliqui nihil commemorandum gesserunt. Regnatum est annis CXCVII.

Fr. 14. Syncellus, p. 105. KATA AΦΡΙΚΑΝΟΝ.

Τετάρτη δυναστεία Μεμφιτῶν συγγενείας ἐτέρας βασιλεῖς η´.

α´ Σῶρις, ἔτη κθ´.

β´ Σοῦφισ, ἔτη ξγ´· ὃς τὴν μεγίστην ἤγειρε πυραμίδα. ἣν φησιν Ἡρόδοτος ὑπὸ Χέοπος γεγονέναι. οὗτος δὲ καὶ ὑπερόπτης εἰς θεοὺς ἐγένετο καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν συνέγραψε βίβλον, ἣν ὥς μέγα χρῆμα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γενόμενος ἐκτησάμην.

γ´ Σοῦφισ, ἔτη ξς´.

δ´ Μενχέρης, ἔτη ξγ´.

ε´ Ῥατοίσης, ἔτη κε´.

ζ' Βίχερις, ἔτη κβ'.

ζ' Σεβερχέρης, ἔτη ζ'.

η' Θαμφθίς, ἔτη θ'.

Όμοῦ, ἔτη σοζ'.

Όμοῦ τῶν δ' δυνασκειῶν τῶν [μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν] ἔτη ,αμζ' κατ' Ἀφρικανόν.

Fr. 15. Syncellus, p. 106. KATA EYSEBION.

Τετάρτη δυναστεία βασιλέων ιζ' Μεμφιτῶν συγγενείας ἐτέρας βασιλείας.

Ἦν τρίτος Σοῦφις, ὁ τὴν μεγίστην πυραμίδα ἐγείρας, ἣν φησιν Ἡρόδοτος ὑπὸ Χέοπος γεγονέναι, ὃς καὶ ὑπερόπτης εἰς θεοὺς γέγονεν, ὥς μετανοήσαντα αὐτὸν τὴν ἱερὰν συγγράψαι βίβλον, ἣν ὡς μέγα χρῆμα Αἰγύπτιοι περιέπουσι. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν οὐδὲν ἀξιομνημόνευτον ἀνεγράφη. οἱ καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτεσιν υμη'.

Όμοῦ τῶν δ' δυνασκειῶν [μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν] ,αρζε' κατὰ Εὐσέβιον.

Fr. 16. Eusebius, Chronica I. (Armenian Version), p. 97.

Quarta dynastia Memphitarum regum XVII ex alia regia familia, quorum tertius, Suphis, maximae pyramidis auctor, quam quidem Herodotus a Cheope structam ait: qui in deos ipsos superbiebat; tum facti poenitens sacrum librum conscribebat, quem Aegyptii instar magni thesauri habere se

putant. De reliquis regibus nihil memorabile litteris mandatum est.
Regnatum est annis CCCCXLVIII.

Fr. 18. Syncellus, p. 107. KATA AΦΡΙKANON.

Πέμπτη δυναστεία βασιλέων η' ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης.

α' Οὐσερχέρης, ἔτη κη'.

β' Σεφρής, ἔτη ιγ'.

γ' Νεφερχέρης, ἔτη κ'.

δ' Σισίρης, ἔτη ζ'.

ε' Χέρης, ἔτη κ'.

ς' Παθούρης, ἔτη μδ'.

ζ' Μενχέρης, ἔτη θ'.

η' Τανχέρης, ἔτη μδ'.

θ' Ὀννος, ἔτη λγ'.

Ὅμοῦ, ἔτη σμη'. γίνονται σὺν τοῖς προτεταγμένοις ,αμς' ἔτεσι τῶν
τεσσάρων δυναστειῶν ἔτη ,ασδ'.

Fr. 19 (a). Syncellus, p. 109. KATA EYΣEBION.

Πέμπτη δυναστεία βασιλέων τριάκοντα ἑνὸς ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης. ὧν πρῶτος Ὀθόης. οὗτος ὑπὸ τῶν δορυφόρων ἀνῆρέθη.

Ὁ δὲ δ' Φίωψ, ἐξαέτης ἀρξάμενος, ἐβασίλευσε μέχρις ἐτῶν ἑκατόν. γίνονται οὖν σὺν τοῖς προτεταγμένοις ,αρ4ε' ἔτεσι τῶν τεσσάρων δυναστειῶν [ἔτη] ,αρ4ε'.

(b) Eusebius, *Chronica* I. (Armenian Version), p. 97.

Quinta dynastia regum XXXI Elephantinorum, quorum primus Othius, qui a satellitibus suis occisus est. Quartus Phiops, qui regiam dignitatem a sexto aetatis anno ad centesimum usque tenuit.

Ἑκτη δυναστεία βασιλέων ἐξ Μεμφιτῶν.

α' Ὀθόης, ἔτη λ', ὃς ὑπὸ τῶν δορυφόρων ἀνῆρέθη.

β' Φίος, ἔτη νγ'.

γ' Μεθουσοῦφισ, ἔτη ζ.

δ' Φίωψ, ἐξαέτης ἀρξάμενος βασιλεύειν, διεγένετο μέχρι ἐτῶν ρ'.

ε' Μενθεσοῦφισ, ἔτος ἓν.

ς' Νίτωκρις, γεννικωτάτη καὶ εὐμορφοτάτη τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν γενομένη, ξανθὴ τὴν χροιάν, ἥ τὴν τρίτην ἤγειρε πυραμίδα, ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ιβ'.

Ὁμοῦ, ἔτη σγ'. γίνονται σὺν τοῖς προτεταγμένοις ,ασ4δ' τῶν ε' δυναστειῶν ἔτη ,αυ4ζ'.

Fr. 21 (a). Syncellus, p. 109. KATA EYSEBION.

Ἑκτη δυναστεία.

Γυνή Νίτωκρις ἐβασίλευσε, τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν γεννικωτάτη καὶ εὐμορφοτάτη, ξανθὴ τε τὴν χροιάν ὑπάρξασα, ἥ καὶ λέγεται τὴν τρίτην πυραμίδα ὠκοδομηκέναι.

Οἱ καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη τρία· ἐν ἄλλῳ σγ'.

Γίνονται σὺν τοῖς προτεταγμένοις ,ασ'ε' τῶν πέντε δυναστειῶν ἔτη ,αυ'η'.

Σημειωτέον ὅποσον Εὐσέβιος Ἀφρικανοῦ λείπεται ἀκριβείας ἐν τε τῇ τῶν βασιλέων ποσότητι καὶ ταῖς τῶν ὀνομάτων ὑφαιρέσεσι καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις, σχεδὸν τὰ Ἀφρικανοῦ αὐταῖς λέξεσι γράφων.

(b) Eusebius, *Chronica I. (Armenian Version)*, p. 97.

Sexta dynastia. Femina quaedam Nitocris regnavit, omnium aetatis suae virorum fortissima et mulierum formosissima, flava rubris genis. Ab hac tertia pyramis excitata dicitur, speciem collis prae se ferens.

Ab his quoque regnatum est annis CCIII.

Fr. 23. Syncellus, p. 108. KATA AΦΡΙΚΑΝΟΝ.

Ἑβδόμη δυναστεία Μεμφιτῶν βασιλέων ο', οἱ ἐβασίλευσαν ἡμέρας ο'.

Fr. 24 (a). Syncellus, p. 109. KATA EYSEBION.

Ἑβδόμη δυναστεία Μεμφιτῶν βασιλέων πέντε, οἱ ἐβασίλευσαν ἡμέρας οε'.

(b) Eusebius, *Chronica I. (Armenian Version)*, p. 97.

Septima dynastia Memphitarum regum V, qui annis LXXV dominati sunt.

Fr. 25. Syncellus, p. 108. KATA AΦPIKANON.

Ὀγδόη δυναστεία Μεμφιτῶν βασιλέων κζ', οἱ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη ρμς'. γίνονται σὺν τοῖς προτεταγμένοις ἔτη ,αχλθ' τῶν ὀκτὼ δυνασκειῶν.

Fr. 26 (a). Syncellus, p. 110. KATA EYSEBION.

Ὀγδόη δυναστεία Μεμφιτῶν βασιλέων πέντε, οἱ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη ἑκατόν. γίνονται σὺν τοῖς προτεταγμένοις ἔτη ,αφ'η' τῶν ὀκτὼ δυνασκειῶν.

(b) Eusebius, Chronica I. (Armenian Version), p. 97.

Octava dynastia Memphitarum regum V, quorum dominatio annos centum occupavit.

Fr. 27. Syncellus, p. 110. KATA AΦPIKANON.

Ἐνάτη δυναστεία Ἡρακλεοπολιτῶν βασιλέων ιθ', οἱ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη υθ'· ὧν ὁ πρῶτος Ἀχθόης, δεινότατος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενόμενος, τοῖς ἐν πάσῃ Αἰγύπτῳ κακὰ εἰργάσατο, ὕστερον δὲ μανία περιέπεσε καὶ ὑπὸ κροκοδείλου διεφθάρη.

Fr. 28 (a). Syncellus, p. 111. KATA EYSEBION.

Ἐνάτη δυναστεία Ἡρακλεοπολιτῶν βασιλέων τεσσάρων, οἱ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη ἑκατόν· ὧν πρῶτος Ἀχθώης, δεινότατος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενόμενος, τοῖς ἐν πάσῃ Αἰγύπτῳ κακὰ εἰργάσατο, ὕστερον δὲ μανία περιέπεσε καὶ ὑπὸ κροκοδείλου διεφθάρη.

(b) Eusebius, *Chronica I. (Armenian Version)*, p. 97.

Nona dynastia Heracleopolitarum regum IV, annis C.Horum primus Ochthôis saenissimus regum fuit qui sibi praecesserant, universamque Aegyptum diris calamitatibus affecit. Idem denique vesania correptus est et a crocodilo peremptus.

Fr. 29. Syncellus, p. 110. KATA ΑΦΡΙΚΑΝΟΝ.

Δεκάτη δυναστεία Ἡρακλεοπολιτῶν βασιλέων ιθ', οἱ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη ρπε'.

Fr. 30 (a). Syncellus, p. 112. KATA ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΝ.

Δεκάτη δυναστεία Ἡρακλεοπολιτῶν βασιλέων ιθ', οἱ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη ρπε'.

(b) Eusebius, *Chronica I. (Armenian Version)*, p. 97.

Decima dynastia Heracleopolitarum regum XIX, annis CLXXXV.

Fr. 31. Syncellus, p. 110. KATA ΑΦΡΙΚΑΝΟΝ.

Ἐνδεκάτη δυναστεία Διοσπολιτῶν βασιλέων ις', οἱ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη μγ'. μεθ' οὗς Ἀμμενέμης, ἔτη ις'.

Μέχρι τοῦδε τὸν πρῶτον τόμον καταγήοχε Μανεθῶ.
Ὅμοῦ βασιλεῖς ρʹβʹ, ἔτη ἔτη ,βτʹ, ἡμέραι οʹ.

Fr. 32 (a). Syncellus, p. 112. KATA EYSEBION.

Ἐνδεκάτη δυναστεία Διοσπολιτῶν βασιλέων ιςʹ, οἱ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη μγʹ.
μεθʹ οὓς Ἀμμενέμης, ἔτη ιςʹ.

Μέχρι τοῦδε τὸν πρῶτον τόμον καταγήοχεν ὁ Μανεθῶ. Ὅμοῦ βασιλεῖς
ρʹβʹ, ἔτη ,βτʹ, ἡμέραι οθʹ.

(b) Eusebius, *Chronica* I. (Armenian Version), p. 97.

Undecima dynastia Diospolitarum regum XVI, annis XLIII. Post hos
Ammenemes annis XVI.

Hactenus primum librum Manetho produxit. Sunt autem reges CXCII, anni
MMCCC.

BOOK II.

Fr. 34 Syncellus, p. 110. KATA AΦPIKANON.

Δευτέρου τόμου Μανεθῶ.

Δωδεκάτη δυναστεία Διοσπολιτῶν βασιλέων ἑπτά.

α΄ Σεσόγχοσις, Ἀμμανέμου υἱός, ἔτη μζ΄.

β΄ Ἀμμανέμης, ἔτη λη΄, ὃς ὑπὸ τῶν ιδίων εὐνούχων ἀνηρέθη.

γ΄ Σέσωστρις, ἔτη μη΄, ὃς ἅπασαν ἐχειρώσατο τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν ἐνιαυτοῖς ἐννέα, καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης τὰ μέχρι Θράκης, πανταχόσε μνημόσυνα ἐγείρας τῆς τῶν ἐθνῶν σχέσεως, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς γενναίοις ἀνδρῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἀγεννέσι γυναικῶν μόρια ταῖς στήλαις ἐγχαράσσων, ὥς ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίων μετὰ Ὅσιριν πρῶτον νομισθῆναι.

δ΄ Λαχάρης, ἔτη η΄, ὃς τὸν ἐν Ἀρσινοΐτῃ λαβύρινθον ἑαυτῷ τάφον κατεσκεύασε.

ε΄ Ἀμερής, ἔτη η΄.

ς΄ Ἀμμενέμης, ἔτη η΄.

ζ΄ Σκεμίοφρις, ἀδελφή, ἔτη δ΄. Ὅμοῦ, ἔτη ρξ΄.

Fr. 35. Syncellus, p. 112. KATA EYΣEBION.

Δευτέρου τόμου Μανεθῶ.

Δωδεκάτη δυναστεία Διοσπολιτῶν βασιλέων ἑπτά. ὧν ὁ πρῶτος Σεσόγχοσις, Ἀμμενέμου υἱός, ἔτη μζ΄.

β' Ἀμμανέμης, ἔτη λη', ὃς ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων εὐνούχων ἀνηρέθη.

γ' Σέσωστρις, ἔτη μη', ὃς λέγεται γεγονέναι πηχῶν δ', παλαιστῶν γ', δακτύλων β'. ὃς πᾶσαν ἐχειρώσατο τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν ἐνιαυτοῖς ἐννέα, καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης τὰ μέχρι Θράκης, πανταχόσε μνημόσυνα ἐγείρας τῆς τῶν ἐθνῶν κατασχέσεως, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς γενναίοις ἀνδρῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἀγεννέσι γυναικῶν μόρια ταῖς στήλαις ἐγχαράσσων, ὥς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων [πρῶτον] μετὰ Ὅσιριν νομισθῆναι.

Μεθ' ὃν Λάμαρις, ἔτη η', ὃς τὸν ἐν Ἀρσενοῖτῃ λαβύρινθον ἑαυτῷ τάφον κατεσκεύασεν.

Οἱ δὲ τούτου διάδοχοι ἐπὶ ἔτη μβ', οἱ πάντες ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτεσι σμέ.

Fr. 36. Eusebius, Chronica I. (Armenian Version), p. 98.

E Manethonis secundo libro.

Duodecima dynastia Diospolitarum regum VII, quorum primus Sesonchosis Ammenemis filius annis XLVI.

Ammenemes annis XXXVIII, qui a suis eunuchis interemptus est.

Sesostris annis XLVIII, cuius mensura fertur cubitorum quattuor, palmarumque trium cum digitis duobus. Is universam Asiam annorum novem spatio sibi subdidit, itemque Europae partem usque ad Thraciam. Idem et suae in singulas gentes dominationis monumenta ubique constituit; apud gentes quidem strenuas virilia, apud vero imbelles feminea pudenda ignominiae causa columnis insculpens. Quare is ab Aegyptiis proximos post Osirin honores tulit.

Secutus est Lampares, annis VIII. Hic in Arsinoïte labyrinthum cavernosum sibi tumulum fecit.

Regnaverunt successores eius annis XLII.

Summa universae dominationis annorum CCXLV.

Fr. 38. Syncellus, p. 113. KATA AΦPIKANON.

Τρισκαιδεκάτη δυναστεία Διοσπολιτῶν βασιλέων ξ', οἱ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη υνγ'.

Fr. 39 (a). Syncellus, p. 114. KATA EYΣEBION.

Τρισκαιδεκάτη δυναστεία Διοσπολιτῶν βασιλέων ξ', οἱ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη υνγ'.

(b) Eusebius, *Chronica I. (Armenian Version)*, p. 99.

Tertia decima dynastia Diospolitarum regum LX, qui regnarunt annis CCCCLIII.

Fr. 41 (a). Syncellus, p. 113. KATA AΦPIKANON

Τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη δυναστεία Ξοϊτῶν βασιλέων ος', οἱ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη ρπδ'.

(b) Syncellus, p. 114. KATA EYΣEBION.

Τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη δυναστεία Ξοϊτῶν βασιλέων ος', οἱ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη ρπδ'· ἐν ἄλλῳ υπδ'.

(c) Eusebius, *Chronica I. (Armenian Version)*, p. 99.

Quarta decima dynastia Xoïtarum regum LXXVI, qui regnarunt annis CCCCLXXXIV.

[73] Ἄρξομαι δὴ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις γραμμάτων. αὐτὰ μὲν οὖν οὐχ οἷόν τε παρατίθεσθαι τὰ κείνων, Μανεθῶς δ' ἦν τὸ γένος Αἰγύπτιος, ἀνὴρ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς μετεσχηκῶς παιδείας, ὡς δῆλός ἐστιν· γέγραφε γὰρ Ἑλλάδι φωνῇ τὴν πάτριον ἱστορίαν ἐκ δέλτων ἱερῶν, ὥς φησιν αὐτός, μεταφράσας, ὃς καὶ πολλὰ τὸν Ἡρόδοτον ἐλέγχει τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ἐψευσμένον. [74] οὗτος δὴ τοίνυν ὁ Μανεθῶς ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν ταῦτα περὶ ἡμῶν γράφει· παραθήσομαι δὲ τὴν λέξιν αὐτοῦ καθάπερ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον παραγαγὼν μάρτυρα:

[75] “Τουτίμαιος. ἐπὶ τούτου οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ὁ θεὸς ἀντέπνευσεν, καὶ παραδόξως ἐκ τῶν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν μερῶν ἄνθρωποι τὸ γένος ἄσημοι καταθαρρήσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἐστράτευσαν καὶ ῥαδίως ἀμαχητὶ [76] ταύτην κατὰ κράτος εἶλον, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμονεύσαντας ἐν αὐτῇ χειρῶσάμενοι τὸ λοιπὸν τάς τε πόλεις ὡμῶς ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἱερὰ κατέσκαψαν, πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἐχθρότατά πως ἐχρήσαντο, τοὺς μὲν σφάζοντες, τῶν δὲ καὶ τὰ [77] τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας εἰς δουλείαν ἄγοντες. πέρας δὲ καὶ βασιλέα ἓνα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐποίησαν, ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Σάλιτις. καὶ οὗτος ἐν τῇ Μέμφιδι κατεγίνετο, τὴν τε ἄνω καὶ κάτω χώραν δασμολογῶν καὶ φρουρὰν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδειοτάτοις καταλείπων τόποις. μάλιστα δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἡσφαλίσατο μέρη, προορώμενος, Ἀσσυρίων ποτὲ μεῖζον [78] ἰσχυόντων, ἐσομένην ἐπιθυμία τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ἔφοδον. εὐρὼν δὲ ἐν νομῷ τῷ Σαῖτι πόλιν ἐπικαιροτάτην, κειμένην μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν τοῦ Βουβαστίτου ποταμοῦ, καλουμένην δ' ἀπὸ τινος ἀρχαίας θεολογίας Αὐαριν, ταύτην ἔκτισέν τε καὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν ὀχυρωτάτην ἐποίησεν, ἐνοικίσας αὐτῇ καὶ πλῆθος ὀπλιτῶν εἰς εἴκοσι καὶ [79] τέσσαρας μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν προφυλακὴν. ἔνθα δὲ κατὰ θέρειαν ἤρχετο, τὰ μὲν σιτομετρῶν καὶ μισθοφορίαν παρεχόμενος, τὰ δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἐξοπλισίαις πρὸς φόβον τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπιμελῶς γυμνάζων. ἄρξας δ' ἐννεακαίδεκα ἔτη, τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησε. [80] μετὰ τοῦτον δὲ ἕτερος ἐβασίλευσεν τέσσαρα καὶ

τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη καλούμενος Βνών, μεθ' ὃν ἄλλος Ἀπαχνὰν ἐξ καὶ
τριάκοντα ἔτη καὶ μῆνας ἐπτὰ, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ Ἰαποφίς ἐν καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ
[81] Ἰαννὰς πεντήκοντα καὶ μῆνα ἓνα, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ καὶ Ἰάσις ἐννέα καὶ
τεσσαράκοντα καὶ μῆνας δύο. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐξ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐγενήθησαν
πρῶτοι ἄρχοντες, ποθοῦντες αἰεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον τῆς Αἰγύπτου [82] ἐξῆραι τὴν
ρίζαν. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τὸ σύμπαν αὐτῶν ἔθνος Ὑκσῶς, τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν βασιλεῖς
ποιμένες· τὸ γὰρ ὕκ καθ' ἱερὰν γλῶσσαν βασιλέα σημαίνει, τὸ δὲ σῶς
ποιμήν ἐστι καὶ ποιμένες κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν διάλεκτον, καὶ οὕτω
συντιθέμενον γίνεται Ὑκσῶς. τινὲς δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτοὺς Ἀραβας εἶναι.” [83]
[ἐν δ' ἄλλῳ ἀντιγράφῳ οὐ βασιλεῖς σημαίνεσθαι διὰ τῆς τοῦ ὕκ
προσηγορίας, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον αἰχμαλώτους δηλοῦσθαι ποιμένας· τὸ γὰρ
ὕκ πάλιν Αἰγυπτιστὶ καὶ τὸ ἄκ δασυνόμενον αἰχμαλώτους ῥητῶς μηνύειν.]
καὶ τοῦτο μᾶλλον πιθανώτερόν μοι φαίνεται καὶ παλαιᾷς ἱστορίας
ἐχόμενον.

[84] Τούτους τοὺς προκατωνομασμένους βασιλέας, [καὶ] τοὺς τῶν
Ποιμένων καλουμένων καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν γενομένους, κρατῆσαι τῆς
Αἰγύπτου [85] φησὶν ἔτη πρὸς τοῖς πεντακοσίοις ἑνδεκα. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τῶν
ἐκ τῆς Θηβαΐδος καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων γενέσθαι φησὶν ἐπὶ τοὺς
Ποιμένας ἐπανάστασιν, καὶ πόλεμον συρραγῆναι [86] μέγαν καὶ
πολυχρόνιον. ἐπὶ δὲ βασιλέως, ὃ ὄνομα εἶναι Μισφραγμούθωσις,
ἡττημένους φησὶ τοὺς Ποιμένας ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἄλλης Αἰγύπτου πάσης
ἐκπεσεῖν, κατακλεισθῆναι δ' εἰς τόπον ἀρουρῶν ἔχοντα μυρίων τὴν
περίμετρον· Αὔαριν ὄνομα τῷ [87] τόπῳ. τοῦτόν φησιν ὁ Μανεθῶς ἅπαντα
τείχει τε μεγάλῳ καὶ ἰσχυρῷ περιβαλεῖν τοὺς Ποιμένας, ὅπως τὴν τε κτῆσιν
ἅπασαν ἔχωσιν ἐν ὀχυρῷ [88] καὶ τὴν λείαν τὴν ἑαυτῶν. τὸν δὲ
Μισφραγμουθώσεως υἱὸν Θούμμωσιν ἐπιχειρῆσαι μὲν αὐτοὺς διὰ
πολιορκίας ἐλεῖν κατὰ κράτος, ὁκτὼ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα μυριάσι στρατοῦ
προσεδρεύσαντα τοῖς τείχεσιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας ἀπέγνω, ποιήσασθαι
συμβάσεις, ἵνα τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐκλιπόντες ὅποι βούλονται πάντες ἀβλαβεῖς

ἀπέλθωσι. τοὺς [89] δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὁμολογίαις πανοικησία μετὰ τῶν κτήσεων οὐκ ἐλάττους μυριάδων ὄντας εἴκοσι καὶ τεσσάρων ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὴν ἔρημον εἰς Συρίαν διοδοιπορῆσαι. φοβουμένους δὲ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων [90] δυναστείαν, τότε γὰρ ἐκείνους τῆς Ἀσίας κρατεῖν, ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἰουδαία καλουμένη πόλιν οἰκοδομησαμένους τοσαύταις μυριάσιν ἀνθρώπων ἀρκέσουσιν, Ἱεροσόλυμα ταύτην ὀνομάσαι.

[91] Ἐν ἄλλῃ δὲ τινι βίβλῳ τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν Μανεθῶς τοῦτο φησι [τὸ] ἔθνος, τοὺς καλουμένους Ποιμένας, αἰχμαλώτους ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς αὐτῶν βίβλοις γεγράφθαι, λέγων ὀρθῶς· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἀνωτάτω προγόνοις ἡμῶν τὸ ποιμαίνειν πάτριον ἦν, καὶ νομαδικὸν ἔχοντες τὸν βίον οὕτως [92] ἐκαλοῦντο Ποιμένες. αἰχμάλωτοί τε πάλιν οὐκ ἀλόγως ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀνεγράφησαν, ἐπειδὴ περὶ ὁ πρόγονος ἡμῶν Ἰώσηπος ἑαυτὸν ἔφη πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων αἰχμάλωτον εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὕστερον μετεπέμψατο, τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιτρέψαντος. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν ἄλλοις ποιήσομαι τὴν ἐξέτασιν ἀκριβεστέραν.

Fr. 43. Syncellus, p. 113. KATA AΦΡΙΚΑΝΟΝ.

Πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ δυναστείᾳ Ποιμένων. ἦσαν δὲ Φοίνικες ξένοι βασιλεῖς ζ', οἱ καὶ Μέμφιν εἶλον, οἱ καὶ ἐν τῷ Σεθροΐτῃ νομῷ πόλιν ἔκτισαν, ἀφ' ἧς ὀρμώμενοι Αἰγυπτίους ἐχειρώσαντο.

Ἦν πρῶτος Σαΐτης ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ιθ', ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ὁ Σαΐτης νομός.

β' Βνωῶν, ἔτη μδ'.

γ' Παχνάν, ἔτη ξα'.

δ' Σταάν, ἔτη ν'.

ε' Ἀρχλῆς, ἔτη μθ'.

ς' Ἀφωφίς, ἔτη ξα'.

Ὅμοϋ, ἔτη σπδ'.

Fr. 44 (a). Syncellus, p. 114. KATA EYSEBION.

Πεντεκαιδεκάτη δυναστεία Διοσπολιτῶν βασιλέων, οἱ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη σν'.

(b) Eusebius, *Chronica I. (Armenian Version)*, p. 99.

Quinta decima dynastia Diospolitarum regum, qui regnarunt annis CCL.

Fr. 45. Syncellus, p. 114. KATA AΦΡΙKANON.

Ἐκκαιδεκάτη δυναστεία Ποιμένες ἄλλοι βασιλεῖς λβ'· ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη φη'.

Fr. 46 (a). Syncellus, p. 114. KATA EYSEBION.

Ἐκκαιδεκάτη δυναστεία Θηβαῖοι βασιλεῖς ε', οἱ καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη ργ'.

(b) Eusebius, *Chronica I. (Armenian Version)*, p. 99.

Sexta decima dynastia Thebaeorum regum V, qui regnarunt annis CXC.

Fr. 47. Syncellus, p. 114. KATA AΦPIKANON.

Ἑπτακαιδεκάτη δυναστεία Ποιμένες ἄλλοι βασιλεῖς μγ' καὶ Θηβαῖοι ἢ Διοσπολῖται μγ'.

Ὅμοῦ οἱ Ποιμένες καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη ρνα'.

Fr. 48 (a). Syncellus, p. 114. KATA EYΣEBION.

Ἑπτακαιδεκάτη δυναστεία Ποιμένες ἦσαν ἀδελφοὶ Φοίνικες ξένοι βασιλεῖς, οἱ καὶ Μέμφιν εἶλον.

Ὡν πρῶτος Σαῖτης εβασίλευσεν ἔτη ιθ', ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ὁ Σαῖτης νομὸς ἐκλήθη, οἱ καὶ ἐν τῷ Σεθροῖτῃ νομῷ πόλιν ἔκτισαν, ἀφ' ἧς ὁρμώμενοι Αἰγυπτίους ἐχειρώσαντο.

β' Βνωῶν, ἔτη μ'.

γ' Ἀφωφίς, ἔτη ιδ'.

Μεθ' ὃν Ἀρχλῆς, ἔτη λ'.

Ὅμοῦ, ἔτη ργ'.

Κατὰ τούτους Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς Ἰωσήφ δείκνυται.

(b) Eusebius, *Chronica* I. (Armenian Version), p. 99 sq.

Septima decima dynastia Pastorum, qui fratres erant Phoenices exterique reges, et Memphin occuparunt.

Ex his primus Saïtes imperavit annis XIX, a quo Saïtarum quoque nomos nomen traxit. Eidem in Sethroïte nomo urbem condiderunt, unde incursione facta Aegyptions perdomuerunt.

Secundus Bnon, annis XL.

Deinde Archles, annis XXX.

Aphophis, annis XIV.

Summa annorum CIII.

Horum aetate regnavisse in Aegypto Josephus videtur.

Fr. 49. Scholia in Platonis Timaeum, 21 E (Hermann).

Σαϊτικός· ἐκ τῶν Μανεθὼ Αἰγυπτιακῶν. Ἑπτακαιδεκάτη δυναστεία Ποιμένες· ἦσαν ἀδελφοὶ Φοίνικες ξένοι βασιλεῖς, οἱ καὶ Μέμφιν εἶλον.

Ὡν πρῶτος Σαΐτης ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ιθ', ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ὁ Σαΐτης νομὸς ἐκλήθη· οἱ καὶ ἐν τῷ Σεθροῖτῃ νομῷ πόλιν ἔκτισαν, ἀφ' ἧς ὁρμώμενοι Αἰγυπτίους ἐχειρώσαντο.

Δεύτερος τούτων Βνῶν, ἔτη μ'.

Τρίτος Ἀρχάης, ἔτη λ'.

Τέταρτος Ἀφωφίς, ἔτη ιδ'.

Ὅμοῦ, ργ'.

Ὁ δὲ Σαῖτης προσέθηκε τῷ μηνὶ ὥρας ιβ', ὥς εἶναι ἡμερῶν λ', καὶ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἡμέρας ς', καὶ γέγονεν ἡμερῶν τξέ.

Fr. 50. Josephus, Contra Apionem, I, 15, 16, §§ 93–105.

(Continued from Fr. 42.)

[93] Νυνὶ δὲ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ταύτης παρατίθεμαι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους μάρτυρας. πάλιν οὖν τὰ τοῦ Μανεθῶ πῶς ἔχει πρὸς τὴν τῶν χρόνων τάξιν [94] ὑπογράψω. φησὶ δὲ οὕτως· “μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τὸν λαὸν τῶν Ποιμένων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, ὁ ἐκβαλὼν αὐτοὺς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς Τέθμωσις ἐβασίλευσεν μετὰ ταῦτα ἔτη εἰκοσιπέντε καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν, καὶ παρέλαβεν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ αὐτοῦ υἱὸς Χέβρων ἔτη δεκατρία. [95] μεθ' ὃν Ἀμένωφισ εἴκοσι καὶ μῆνας ἐπτά. τοῦ δὲ ἀδελφῆ Ἀμεσσις εἰκοσιέν καὶ μῆνας ἑννέα. τῆς δὲ Μήφρης δώδεκα καὶ μῆνας ἑννέα. τοῦ δὲ Μηφραμούθωσις εἰκοσιπέντε καὶ μῆνας δέκα. [96] τοῦ δὲ Θμῶσις ἑννέα καὶ μῆνας ὀκτώ. τοῦ δ' Ἀμένωφισ τριάκοντα καὶ μῆνας δέκα. τοῦ δὲ Ὡρος τριακονταεξ καὶ μῆνας πέντε. τοῦ δὲ θυγάτηρ Ἀκεγχερῆς δώδεκα καὶ μῆνα ἓνα. τῆς [97] δὲ Ῥάθωτις ἀδελφὸς ἑννέα. τοῦ δὲ Ἀκεγχήρης δώδεκα καὶ μῆνας πέντε. τοῦ δὲ Ἀκεγχήρης ἕτερος δώδεκα καὶ μῆνας τρεῖς. τοῦ δὲ Ἄρμαϊς τέσσαρα καὶ μῆνα ἓνα. τοῦ δὲ Ῥαμέσσης ἓν καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας. τοῦ δὲ Ἀρμέσσης Μιαμοῦν ἐξηκονταεξ καὶ μῆνας δύο. τοῦ δὲ Ἀμένωφισ [98] δεκαεννέα καὶ μῆνας ἕξ. τοῦ δὲ Σέθωσ ὁ καὶ Ῥαμέσσης, ἱππικὴν καὶ ναυτικὴν ἔχων δύναμιν, τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν Ἄρμαϊν ἐπίτροπον τῆς Αἰγύπτου κατέστησεν, καὶ πᾶσαν μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν ἄλλην βασιλικὴν περιέθηκεν ἐξουσίαν, μόνον δὲ ἐνετείλατο διάδημα μὴ φορεῖν μηδὲ τὴν βασιλίδα μητέρα τε [99] τῶν τέκνων ἀδικεῖν, ἀπέχεσθαι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βασιλικῶν παλλακίδων. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Κύπρον καὶ Φοινίκην καὶ πάλιν Ἀσσυρίους τε καὶ Μήδους στρατεύσας, ἅπαντας τοὺς μὲν δόρατι, τοὺς δὲ ἀμαχητὶ φόβῳ δέ

τῆς πολλῆς δυνάμεως ὑποχειρίους ἔλαβε, καὶ μέγα φρονήσας ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐπραγίαις ἔτι καὶ θαρσαλεώτερον ἐπεπορεύετο τὰς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς [100] πόλεις τε καὶ χώρας καταστρεφόμενος. χρόνου τε ἱκανοῦ γεγονότος, Ἄρμαϊς ὁ καταλειφθεὶς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πάντα τᾶμπαλιν οἷς ἀδελφὸς παρήνει μὴ ποιεῖν ἀδεῶς ἔπραττεν· καὶ γὰρ τὴν βασιλίδα βιαίως ἔσχεν καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις παλλακίσιν ἀφειδῶς διετέλει χρώμενος, πειθόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων [101] διάδημα ἐφόρει καὶ ἀντῆρε τῷ ἀδελφῷ. ὁ δὲ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερέων τῆς Αἰγύπτου γράψας βιβλίον ἔπεμψε τῷ Σεθῶσει, δηλῶν αὐτῷ πάντα καὶ ὅτι ἀντῆρεν ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῷ Ἄρμαϊς. παραχρῆμα οὖν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Πηλούσιον καὶ ἐκράτησεν [102] τῆς ἰδίας βασιλείας. ἡ δὲ χώρα ἐκλήθη ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀνόματος Αἴγυπτος· λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι ὁ μὲν Σέθως ἐκαλεῖτο Αἴγυπτος, Ἄρμαϊς δὲ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Δαναός.” Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Μανεθῶς. δῆλον δ’ ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων ἐτῶν, τοῦ χρόνου συλλογισθέντος, ὅτι οἱ καλούμενοι Ποιμένες, ἡμέτεροι δὲ πρόγονοι, τρισὶ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους πρόσθεν ἔτεσιν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀπαλλαγέντες τὴν χώραν ταύτην ἐπώκησαν ἢ Δαναὸν εἰς Ἄργος ἀφικέσθαι· καίτοι [104] τοῦτον ἀρχαιότατον Ἀργεῖοι νομίζουσι. δύο τοίνυν ὁ Μανεθῶς ἡμῖν τὰ μέγιστα μεμαρτύρηκεν ἐκ τῶν παρ’ Αἰγυπτίοις γραμμάτων, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ἐτέρωθεν ἄφιξιν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἔπειτα δὲ τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἀπαλλαγὴν οὕτως ἀρχαίαν τοῖς χρόνοις, ὥς ἐγγὺς πού προτερεῖν αὐτὴν τῶν Ἰλιακῶν ἔτεσι χιλίοις. [105] ὑπὲρ ὧν δ’ ὁ Μανεθῶς οὐκ ἐκ τῶν παρ’ Αἰγυπτίοις γραμμάτων, ἀλλ’, ὥς αὐτὸς ὡμολόγηκεν, ἐκ τῶν ἀδεσπότης μυθολογουμένων προστέθεικεν, ὥστερον ἐξελέγξω κατὰ μέρος ἀποδεικνὺς τὴν ἀπίθανον αὐτοῦ ψευδολογίαν.

Fr. 51. Theophilus, Ad Autolycum, III, 20 (Otto).

Ὁ δὲ Μωσῆς ὁδηγήσας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, ὥς ἔφθημεν εἰρηκέναι, ἐκβεβλημένους ἀπὸ γῆς Αἰγύπτου ὑπὸ βασιλέως Φαραὼ οὗ τοῦνομα Τέθμωσις, ὅς, φασίν, μετὰ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ λαοῦ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη εἴκοσι πέντε καὶ μῆνας δ', ὥς ὑφίρηται Μαναιθώς.

2. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Χεβρῶν, ἔτη ιγ'.

3. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Ἀμένωφισ, ἔτη κ', μῆνας ἐπτά.

4. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ Ἀμέσση, ἔτη κα', μῆνα α'.

5. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην Μήφρης, ἔτη ιβ', μῆνας θ'.

6. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Μηφραμμούθωσις, ἔτη κ', μῆνας ι'.

7. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Τυθμώσης, ἔτη θ', μῆνας η'.

8. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Ἀμένωφισ, ἔτη λ', μῆνας ι'.

9. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Ὠρος, ἔτη λς, μῆνας ε'.

10. Τούτου δὲ θυγάτηρ, [Ἀκεγχερής], ἔτη ι[β'], μῆνας α'.

11. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην [Ῥαθῶτις, ἔτη θ'].

12. [Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Ἀκεγχήρης, ἔτη ιβ', μῆνας ε'].

13. [Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Ἀκ] ε[γ]χ[ή]ρης, ἔτη ιβ', μῆνας γ'.

14. Τοῦ δὲ Ἄρμαϊς, ἔτη δ', μῆνα α'.

15. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Ῥαμέσσης ἐνιαυτὸν, μῆνας δ'.

16. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Ῥαμέσσης Μιαμμού, ἔτη ξς' καὶ μῆνας β'.

17. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Ἀμένωφισ, ἔτη ιθ', μῆνας ς'.

Τοῦ δὲ Σέθως, ὃς καὶ Ῥαμέσσης, ἔτη ι', ὃν φασιν ἐσχηκέναι πολλὴν δύναμιν ἱππικῆς καὶ παράταξιν ναυτικῆς.

Fr. 52. Syncellus, pp. 115, 130, 133.

ΚΑΤΑ ΑΦΡΙΚΑΝΟΝ.

Ὁκτωκαιδεκάτη δυναστεία Διοσπολιτῶν βασιλέων ις'.

Ἦν πρῶτος Ἀμώς, ἐφ' οὗ Μωϋσῆς ἐξῆλθεν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἀποδεικνύομεν, ὡς δὲ ἡ παροῦσα ψῆφος ἀναγκάζει, ἐπὶ τούτου τὸν Μωϋσέα συμβαίνει νέον ἔτι εἶναι.

Δεύτερος κατὰ Ἀφρικανὸν κατὰ τὴν ιη' δυναστείαν ἐβασίλευσε Χεβρώς, ἔτη ιγ'.

Τρίτος, Ἀμενωφθίς, ἔτη κδ'.

Τέταρτος, Ἀμενσίς, ἔτη κβ'.

Πέμπτος, Μίσαφρις, ἔτη ιγ'.

Ἑκτος, Μισφραγμούθωσις, ἔτη κς', ἐφ' οὗ ὁ ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος κατακλυσμός.

Ὅμοῦ ἐπὶ Ἀμώσεως τοῦ καὶ Μισφραγμουθώσεως ἀρχῆς κατὰ Ἀφρικανὸν γίνονται ἔτη ξθ'. Τοῦ γὰρ Ἀμὸς οὐδ' ὅλως εἶπεν ἔτη.

ς' Τούθμωσις, ἔτη θ'.

η' Ἀμενωφίς, ἔτη λα' Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Μέμνων εἶναι νομιζόμενος καὶ φθεγγόμενος λίθος.

θ' Ἦρος, ἔτη λς'.

ι' Ἀχερρῆς, ἔτη λβ'.

ια' Παθῶς, ἔτη ἕξ.

ιβ' Χεβρής, ἔτη ιβ'.

ιγ' Ἀχερρῆς, ἔτη ιβ'.

ιδ' Ἀρμεσίς, ἔτη ε'.

ιε' Ραμεσσῆς, ἔτος α'

ις' Ἀμενωφάθ, ἔτη ιθ' Ὅμοῦ, ἔτη σξγ'.

Fr. 53 (a). Syncellus, pp. 116, 129, 133, 135.

ΚΑΤΑ ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΝ.

Ὀκτωκαιδεκάτη δυναστεία Διοσπολιτῶν βασιλέων ιδ'.

Ἦν πρῶτος, Ἀμωσις, ἔτη κε'.

β' Χεβρὼν δεύτερος, ἔτη ιγ'.

γ' Ἀμμενῶφης, ἔτη κα'.

δ' Μίφρης, ἔτη ιβ'.

ε' Μισφραγμούθωσις, ἔτη κς'.

Ὅμοῦ ἀπ' Ἀμώσεως τοῦ πρώτου τῆς προκειμένης ιη' δυναστείας ἕως Μισφραγμουθώσεως ἀρχῆς κατὰ Εὐσέβιον ἔτη γίνονται οα', βασιλεῖς πέντε ἀντὶ τῶν ἕξ· τὸν γὰρ τέταρτον Ἀμένσην παραδραμών, οὗ ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ μέμνηται, ἔτη κβ' αὐτοῦ ἐκολόβωσεν.

ς' Τούθμωσις, ἔτη θ'.

ζ' Ἀμένωφισ, ἔτη λα'. Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Μέμων εἶναι νομιζόμενος καὶ φθεγγόμενος λίθος.

η' Ὡρος, ἔτη λς' (ἐν ἄλλῳ λη').

θ' Ἀχενχέρσης, [ἔτη ιβ'].

[Ἄθωρις, ἔτη λθ'].

[Κενχέρης], ἔτη ις'.

Κατὰ τοῦτον Μωϋσῆς τῆς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου πορείας τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἡγήσατο. (Syncellus adds: Μόνος Εὐσέβιος ἐπὶ τούτου λέγει τὴν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ διὰ Μωϋσέως ἔξοδον, μηδενὸς αὐτῷ λόγου μαρτυροῦντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων ἐναντιουμένων τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ.)

ι' Ἀχερρῆς, ἔτη η'.

ια' Χερρῆς, ἔτη ιε'.

ιβ' Ἄρμαῖς ὁ καὶ Δαναὸς, ἔτη ε', μεθ' ἧς ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐκπεσὼν καὶ φεύγων τὸν ἀδελφὸν Αἴγυπτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφικνεῖται, κρατήσας τε τοῦ Ἄργους βασιλεύει τῶν Ἀργείων.

ιγ' Ῥαμεσσῆς ὁ καὶ Αἴγυπτος, ἔτη ξη'.

ιδ' Ἀμμένωφισ, ἔτη μ'.

Ὅμοῦ, ἔτη τμη'.

Προσέθηκεν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἀφρικανὸν ἔτη πε' Εὐσέβιος κατὰ τὴν ιη' δυναστείαν. (Syncellus, p. 116: Εὐσέβιος δύο βασιλεῖς περιέκρυσεν, ἔτη δὲ προσέθηκε πε', τμη' παραθεῖς ἀντὶ σξγ' τῶν παρ' Ἀφρικανῶ.)

(b) Eusebius, Chronica I. (Armenian Version), p. 99.

Octava decima dynastia Diospolitarum regum XIV, quorum primus

Amoses, annis XXV.

Chebron, annis XIII.

Amophis, annis XXI.

Memphres, annis XII.

Mispharmuthosis, annis XXVI.

Tuthmosis, annis IX.

Amenophis, annis XXXI. Hic est qui Memnon putabatur, petra loquens.

Orus, annis XXVIII.

Achencheres . . ., annis XVI. Huius aetate Moses ducem se praebuit
Hebraeis ab Aegypto excedentibus.

Acherres, annis VIII.

Cherres, annis XV.

Armaïs, qui et Danaus, annis V; quibus peractis, Aegyptiorum regione
pulsus Aegyptumque fratrem suum fugiens, evasit in Graeciam, Argisque
captis, imperavit Argivis.

Ramesses, qui et Aegyptus, annis LXVIII.

Amenophis, annis XL.

Summa dominationis CCCXLVIII.

Fr. 54. Josephus, Contra Apionem, I, 26–31, §§ 227–287.

[227] Ἐφ' ἐνὸς δὲ πρώτου στήσω τὸν λόγον, ᾧ καὶ μάρτυρι μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἐχρησάμην. [228] ὁ γὰρ Μανεθὼς οὗτος, ὁ τὴν Αἰγυπτιακὴν ἱστορίαν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων μεθερμηνεύειν ὑπεσχηένος, προειπὼν τοὺς ἡμετέρους προγόνους πολλαῖς μυριάσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐλθόντας κρατῆσαι τῶν ἐνοικούντων, εἶπ' αὐτὸς ὁμολογῶν χρόνῳ πάλιν ὕστερον ἐκπεσόντας τὴν νῦν Ἰουδαίαν κατασχεῖν καὶ κτίσαντας Ἱεροσόλυμα τὸν νεὼν κατασκευάσασθαι, μέχρι μὲν τούτων ἠκολούθησε [229] ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς. ἔπειτα δὲ δοὺς ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ φάναι γράψειν τὰ μυθεύμενα καὶ λεγόμενα περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων λόγους ἀπιθάνους παρενέβαλεν, ἀναμῖξαι βουλόμενος ἡμῖν πλῆθος Αἰγυπτίων λεπρῶν καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλοις ἀρρωστήμασιν, ὥς φησι, φυγεῖν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καταγνωσθέντων. [230] Ἀμένωφιν γὰρ βασιλέα προθείς, ψευδὲς ὄνομα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χρόνον αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ὀρίσαι μὴ τολμήσας, καίτοι γε ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων ἀκριβῶς τὰ ἔτη προστιθείς, τούτῳ προσάπτει τινὰς μυθολογίας, ἐπιλαθόμενος σχεδὸν ὅτι πεντακοσίους ἔτεσι καὶ δεκαοκτὼ πρότερον ἱστώρηκε γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν Ποιμένων ἔξοδον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. [231] Τέθμωσις γὰρ ἦν βασιλεὺς ὅτε ἐξήεσαν, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου τῶν μεταξὺ βασιλέων κατ' αὐτόν ἐστι τριακόσια ἐνενηκοντατρία ἔτη μέχρι τῶν δύο ἀδελφῶν Σέθω καὶ Ἑρμαίου, ὧν τὸν μὲν Σέθων Αἴγυπτον, τὸν δὲ Ἑρμαῖον Δαναὸν μετονομασθῆναί φησιν, ὃν ἐκβαλὼν ὁ Σέθως ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη νθ' καὶ μετ' αὐτόν ὁ πρεσβύτερος τῶν υἱῶν [232] αὐτοῦ Ῥάμψης ξς'. τοσούτοις οὖν πρότερον ἔτεσιν ἀπελθεῖν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν ὁμολογηκώς, εἶτα τὸν Ἀμένωφιν εἰσποιήσας ἐμβόλιμον βασιλέα, φησὶν τοῦτον ἐπιθυμῆσαι θεῶν γενέσθαι θεατὴν, ὥσπερ Ὡρ εἷς τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ

βεβασιλευκότων, ἀνενεγκεῖν δὲ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ὁμώνυμῳ μὲν αὐτῷ Ἀμενώφει, πατρὸς δὲ Παάπιος ὄντι, [233] θείας δὲ δοκοῦντι μετεσχηκέναι φύσεως κατὰ τε σοφίαν καὶ πρόγνωσιν τῶν ἐσομένων. εἰπεῖν οὖν αὐτῷ τοῦτον τὸν ὁμώνυμον ὅτι δυνήσεται θεοὺς ἰδεῖν, εἰ καθαρὰν ἀπὸ τε λεπρῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μιαρῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν ποιήσειεν. [234] ἡσθέντα δὲ τὸν βασιλέα πάντας τοὺς τὰ σώματα λελωβημένους ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου συναγαγεῖν· γενέσθαι [235] δὲ τὸ πλῆθος μυριάδας ὀκτώ· καὶ τούτους τὰς λιθοτομίας τὰς ἐν τῷ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν μέρει τοῦ Νείλου ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτόν, ὅπως ἐργάζοιντο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων εἶεν κεχωρισμένοι. εἶναι δὲ τινὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν λογίων ἱερέων φησὶ λέπρα [236] συνεσχημένους. τὸν δὲ Ἀμένωφιν ἐκεῖνον, τὸν σοφὸν καὶ μαντικὸν ἄνδρα, ὑποδεῖσαι πρὸς αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν βασιλέα χόλον τῶν θεῶν, εἰ βιασθέντες ὀφθήσονται· καὶ προσθέμενον εἰπεῖν ὅτι συμμαχήσουσί τινες τοῖς μιανοῖς καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου κρατήσουσιν ἐπ’ ἔτη δεκατρία, μὴ τολμῆσαι μὲν αὐτόν εἰπεῖν ταῦτα τῷ βασιλεῖ, γραφὴν δὲ καταλιπόντα περὶ πάντων ἑαυτὸν ἀνελεῖν, ἐν ἀθυμίᾳ [237] δὲ εἶναι τὸν βασιλέα. κᾶπειτα κατὰ λέξιν οὕτως γέγραφεν· “τῶν δ’ ἐν ταῖς λατομίαις ὡς χρόνος ἱκανὸς διῆλθεν ταιλαιπωρούντων, ἀξιωθείς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἵνα πρὸς κατάλυσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ σκέπην ἀπομερίσῃ τὴν τότε τῶν Ποιμένων ἐρημωθεῖσαν πόλιν Αὔαριν συνεχώρησεν· ἔστι δ’ ἡ πόλις κατὰ τὴν [238] θεολογίαν ἄνωθεν Τυφώνιος. οἱ δὲ εἰς ταύτην εἰσελθόντες καὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον εἰς ἀπόστασιν ἔχοντες, ἡγεμόνα αὐτῶν τινὰ τῶν Ἡλιοπολιτῶν ἱερέων Ὁσάρσηφον λεγόμενον ἐστήσαντο καὶ [239] ὁ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς νόμον ἔθετο μήτε προσκυνεῖν θεοὺς μήτε τῶν μάλιστα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ θεμιστευομένων ἱερῶν ζώων ἀπέχεσθαι μηδενός, πάντα δὲ θύειν καὶ ἀναλοῦν, συνάπτεσθαι δὲ [240] μηδενὶ πλὴν τῶν συνομωμοσμένων. τοιαῦτα δὲ νομοθετήσας καὶ πλεῖστα ἄλλα μάλιστα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐθισμοῖς ἐναντιούμενα ἐκέλευσεν πολυχειρία τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπισκευάζειν τείχη καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον ἐτοίμους γίνεσθαι τὸν πρὸς Ἀμένωφιν τὸν [241] βασιλέα. αὐτὸς δέ, προσλαβόμενος μεθ’ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ

τῶν ἄλλων ἱερέων καὶ συμμεμιαμμένων τινὰς ἔπεμψε πρέσβεις πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὸ Τεθμώσεως ἀπελασθέντας Ποιμένας εἰς πόλιν τὴν καλουμένην Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς συνατιμασθέντας δηλώσας ἡξίου συνεπιστρατεύειν [242] ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. ἐπάξειν μὲν οὖν αὐτοὺς ἐπηγγείλατο πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Αὖαριν τὴν προγονικὴν αὐτῶν πατρίδα καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς ὄχλοις παρέξειν ἀφθόνως, ὑπερμαχήσεσθαι δὲ ὅτε δέοι καὶ ῥαδίως ὑποχείριον αὐτοῖς τὴν χώραν ποιήσειν. [243] οἱ δὲ ὑπερχαρεῖς γενόμενοι πάντες προθύμως εἰς κ' μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν συνεχώρησαν καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἦκον εἰς Αὖαριν. Ἀμένωφιν δ' ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς ὡς ἐπύθετο τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐνείνων ἔφοδον, οὐ μετρίως συνεχύθη, τῆς παρὰ Ἀμενώφεως τοῦ Παάπιος μνησθεὶς προδηλώσεως [244] καὶ πρότερον συναγαγὼν πλῆθος Αἰγυπτίων καὶ βουλευσάμενος μετὰ τῶν ἐν τούτοις ἡγεμόνων, τά τε ἱερὰ ζῶα τὰ [πρῶτα] μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς τιμώμενα ὡς ἑαυτὸν μετεπέμψατο, καὶ τοῖς κατὰ μέρος ἱερεῦσι παρήγγελλεν ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα τῶν [245] θεῶν συγκρύψαι τὰ ζόανα. τὸν δὲ υἱὸν Σέθων, τὸν καὶ Ῥαμέσσην ἀπὸ Ῥαψηοῦς τοῦ πατρὸς ὠνομασμένον, πενταέτη ὄντα ἐξέθετο πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φίλον. αὐτὸς δὲ διαβὰς [σὺν] τοῖς ἄλλοις Αἰγυπτίοις, οὓσιν εἰς τριάκοντα μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν μαχιμωτάτων, καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπαντήσας [246] οὐ συνέβαλεν, ἀλλὰ μὴ δεῖν θεομαχεῖν νομίσας παλινδρομήσας ἤκεν εἰς Μέμφιν, ἀναλαβὼν τε τὸν τε Ἄπιν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐκεῖσε μεταπεμφθέντα ἱερὰ ζῶα, εὐθύς εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν σὺν ἅπαντι τῷ στόλῳ καὶ πλήθει τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀνήχθη· χάριτι γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ ὑποχείριος ὁ τῶν Αἰθιόπων βασιλεὺς. [247] ὃς ὑποδεξάμενος καὶ τοὺς ὄχλους πάντας ὑπολαβὼν οἷς ἔσχεν ἡ χώρα τῶν πρὸς ἀνθρωπίνην τροφὴν ἐπιτηδείων, καὶ πόλεις καὶ κώμας πρὸς τὴν τῶν πεπωμένων τρισκαίδεκα ἐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκπτωσιν αὐτάρκεις, οὐχ ἦττον δὲ καὶ στρατόπεδον Αἰθιοπικὸν πρὸς φυλακὴν ἐπέταξε τοῖς παρ' Ἀμενώφεως τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τῶν [248] ὁρίων τῆς Αἰγύπτου. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν τοιαῦτα· οἱ δὲ Σολυμίται κατελθόντες σὺν τοῖς μιανοῖς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οὕτως ἀνοσίως καὶ

[ὥμῳς] τοῖς ἀνθρώποις προσηνέχθησαν, ὥστε τὴν τῶν προειρημένων [Ποιμένων] κράτησιν χρυσὸν φαίνεσθαι τοῖς τότε τὰ τούτων ἀσεβήματα θεωμένοις· [249] καὶ γὰρ οὐ μόνον πόλεις καὶ κώμας ἐνέπρησαν, οὐδὲ ἱεροσυλοῦντες οὐδὲ λυμαινόμενοι ξόανα θεῶν ἤρκοῦντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀδύτοις ὀπτανίοις τῶν σεβαστευομένων ἱερῶν ζώων χρώμενοι διετέλουν, καὶ θύτας καὶ σφαγεῖς τούτων ἱερεῖς καὶ προφήτας ἠνάγκαζον γίνεσθαι καὶ γυμνοὺς [250] ἐξέβαλλον. λέγεται δὲ ὅτι [ὁ] τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς καταβαλόμενος ἱερεὺς, τὸ γένος Ἑλιοπολίτης, ὄνομα Ὁσαρσῆφ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Ἑλιουπόλει θεοῦ Ὁσίρεως, ὡς μετέβη εἰς τοῦτο τὸ γένος, μετετέθη τοῦνομα καὶ προσηγορεύθη [27] Μωσῆς.”

[251] Ἄ μὲν οὖν Αἰγύπτιοι φέρουσι περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ταῦτ’ ἐστὶ καὶ ἕτερα πλείονα, ἃ παρήμι συντομίας ἔνεκα. λέγει δὲ ὁ Μανεθῶς πάλιν ὅτι μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπῆλθεν ὁ Ἀμένωφισ ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίας μετὰ μεγάλης δυνάμεως καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ῥάμπης, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχων δύναμιν, καὶ συμβαλόντες οἱ δύο τοῖς Ποιμέσι καὶ τοῖς μισοῖς ἐνίκησαν αὐτοὺς καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείναντες ἐδίωξαν αὐτοὺς ἄχρι τῶν [252] ὀρίων τῆς Συρίας. ταῦτα μὲν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα Μανεθῶς συνέγραψεν· ὅτι δὲ ληρεῖ καὶ ψεύδεται περιφανῶς ἐπιδείξω, προδιαστείλαμενος ἐκεῖνο, τῶν ὕστερον πρὸς ἄλλους λεχθησομένων ἔνεκα. δέδωκε γὰρ οὗτος ἡμῖν καὶ ὠμολόγηκεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸ μὴ εἶναι τὸ γένος Αἰγυπτίους, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὺς ἐξωθεν ἐπελθόντας κρατῆσαι τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ πάλιν ἐξ [253] αὐτῆς ἀπελθεῖν. ὅτι δ’ οὐκ ἀνεμίχθησαν ἡμῖν ὕστερον τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ τὰ σώματα λελωβημένοι, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ τούτων οὐκ ἦν Μωσῆς ὁ τὸν λαὸν ἀγαγών, ἀλλὰ πολλαῖς ἐγγέγονει γενεαῖς πρότερον, ταῦτα πειράσομαι διὰ τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ [82] λεγομένων ἐλέγχειν.

[254] Πρώτην δὴ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ πλάσματος ὑποτίθεται καταγέλαστον. ὁ βασιλεὺς γάρ, φησὶν, Ἀμένωφισ ἐπεθύμησε τοὺς θεοὺς ἰδεῖν. ποίους; εἰ μὲν τοὺς παρ’ αὐτοῖς νενομοθετημένους, τὸν βοῦν καὶ τράγον καὶ κροκοδείλους καὶ κυνοκεφάλους, [255] ἑώρα. τοὺς οὐρανίους δὲ πῶς ἐδύνατο; καὶ διὰ τί ταύτην ἔσχε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν; ὅτι νῆ Δία καὶ πρότερος αὐτοῦ βασιλεὺς ἄλλος

έωράκει. παρ' ἐκείνου τοίνυν ἐπέπυστο ποταποί τινές εἰσι καὶ τίνα πρόπον αὐτοὺς εἶδεν, ὥστε καινῆς αὐτῷ [256] τέχνης οὐκ ἔδει. ἀλλὰ σοφὸς ἦν ὁ μάντις, δι' οὗ τοῦτο κατορθώσκειν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπελάμβανε. καὶ πῶς οὐ προέγνω τὸ ἀδύνατον αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας; οὐ γὰρ ἀπέβη. τίνα δὲ καὶ λόγον εἶχε διὰ τοὺς ἡκρωτηριασμένους ἢ λεπρῶντας ἀφανεῖς εἶναι τοὺς θεοὺς; ὀργίζονται γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀσεβήμασιν, [257] οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐλαττώμασι τῶν σωμάτων. ὁκτῶ δὲ μυριάδας τῶν λεπρῶν καὶ κακῶς διακειμένων πῶς οἶόν τε μιᾷ σχεδὸν ἡμέρᾳ συλλεγῆναι; πῶς δὲ παρήκουσεν τοῦ μάντεως ὁ βασιλεὺς; ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐξορίσαι τῆς Αἰγύπτου τοὺς λελωβημένους, ὁ δ' αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰς λιθοτομίας ἐνέβαλεν, ὥσπερ τῶν ἐργασομένων δεόμενος. ἀλλ' [258] οὐχὶ καθᾶραι τὴν χώραν προαιρούμενος. φησὶ δὲ τὸν μὲν μάντιν αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν τὴν ὀργὴν τῶν θεῶν προορώμενον καὶ τὰ συμβησόμενα περὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ γεγραμμένην τὴν πρόρρησιν [259] καταλιπεῖν. εἶτα πῶς οὐκ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ μάντις τὸν αὐτοῦ θάνατον προηπίστατο; πῶς δὲ οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀντεῖπεν τῷ βασιλεῖ βουλομένῳ τοὺς θεοὺς ἰδεῖν; πῶς δ' εὐλογος ὁ φόβος τῶν μὴ παρ' αὐτὸν συμβησομένων κακῶν; ἢ τί χεῖρον ἔδει παθεῖν οὗ δρᾶν ἑαυτὸν ἔσπευδεν;

[260] Τὸ δὲ δὴ πάντων εὐηθέστατον ἴδωμεν. πυθόμενος γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων φοβηθεὶς, τοὺς λελωβημένους ἐκείνους, ὧν αὐτῷ καθαρῖσαι προεῖρητο τὴν Αἴγυπτον, οὐδὲ τότε τῆς χώρας ἐξήλασεν, ἀλλὰ δεηθεῖσιν αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε πόλιν, ὥς φησι, τὴν πάλαι μὲν οἰκηθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ποιμένων, [261] Αὔαριν δὲ καλουμένην. εἰς ἣν ἀθροισθέντας αὐτοὺς ἡγεμόνα φησὶν ἐξελέσθαι τῶν ἐξ Ἡλιουπόλεως πάλαι γεγονότων ἱερέων, καὶ τοῦτον αὐτοῖς εἰσηγήσασθαι μήτε θεοὺς προσκυνεῖν μήτε τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ θρησκευομένων ζώων ἀπέχεσθαι, πάντα δὲ θύειν καὶ κατεσθίειν, συνάπτεσθαι δὲ μηδενὶ πλὴν τῶν συνομωμοσμένων, ὅρκους τε τὸ πλῆθος ἐνδησάμενον, ἢ μὴν τούτοις ἐμμενεῖν τοῖς νόμοις, καὶ τειχίσαντα τὴν Αὔαριν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα [262] πόλεμον ἐξενεγκεῖν. καὶ προστίθουσιν ὅτι ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παρακαλῶν ἐκείνους αὐτοῖς συμμαχεῖν καὶ δώσειν

αὐτοῖς τὴν Αὔαριν ὑπισχνούμενος, εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὴν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἀφιζομένοις προγονικὴν, ἀφ' ἧς ὁρμωμένους αὐτοὺς [263] πᾶσαν τὴν Αἴγυπτον καθέξειν. εἴτα τοὺς μὲν ἐπελθεῖν εἴκοσι στρατοῦ μυριάσι λέγει, τὸν βασιλέα δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Ἀμένωφιν οὐκ οἰόμενον δεῖν θεομαχεῖν εἰς τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν εὐθὺς ἀποδρᾶναι, τὸν δὲ Ἄπιν καὶ τινὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν ζώων παρατεθεικέναι τοῖς ἱερεῦσι διαφυλάττεσθαι κελεύσαντα. [264] εἴτα τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας ἐπελθόντας τάς τε πόλεις ἀνιστάναι καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ κατακαίειν καὶ τοὺς ἱερέας ἀποσφάττειν, ὅλως τε μηδεμιᾶς ἀπέχεσθαι παρανομίας [265] μηδὲ ὠμότητος. ὁ δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς καταβαλόμενος ἱερεύς, φησὶν, ἦν τὸ γένος Ἥλιοπολίτης, ὄνομα δ' Ὁσαρσήφ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Ἥλιουπόλει θεοῦ Ὀσίρεως, μεταθέμενος [266] δὲ Μωυσῆν αὐτὸν προσηγόρευσε. τρισκαιδεκάτῳ δὲ φησιν ἔτει τὸν Ἀμένωφιν, — τοσοῦτον γὰρ αὐτῷ χρόνον εἶναι τῆς ἐκπτώσεως πεπρωμένον, — ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας ἐπελθόντα μετὰ πολλῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ συμβαλόντα τοῖς Ποιμέσι καὶ τοῖς μιανοῖς νικῆσαί τε τῇ μάχῃ καὶ κτεῖναι πολλοὺς ἐπιδιώξαντα [29] μέχρι τῶν τῆς Συρίας ὄρων.

[267] Ἐν τούτοις πάλιν οὐ συνήησιν ἀπιθάνως ψευδόμενος. οἱ γὰρ λεπροὶ καὶ τὸ μετ' αὐτῶν πλῆθος, εἰ καὶ πρότερον ὠργίζοντο τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖς τὰ περὶ αὐτοὺς πεποιηκόσι κατὰ [τε] τὴν τοῦ μάντεως προαγόρευσιν, ἀλλ' ὅτε τῶν λιθοτομιῶν ἐξηλθον καὶ πόλιν παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ χώραν ἔλαβον, πάντως ἂν γεγόνεισαν πρᾶότεροι πρὸς αὐτόν. [268] εἰ δὲ δὴ κάκεῖνον ἐμίσουν, ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἂν αὐτῷ ἐπεβούλευον, οὐκ ἂν δὲ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἦραντο πόλεμον, δῆλον ὅτι πλείστας ἔχοντες συγγενείας [269] τοσοῦτοί γε τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες. ὅμως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πολεμεῖν διεγνωκότες, οὐκ ἂν εἰς τοὺς αὐτῶν θεοὺς πολεμεῖν ἐτόλμησαν οὐδ' ὑπεναντιωτάτους ἔθεντο νόμους τοῖς πατρίοις αὐτῶν καὶ [270] οἷς ἐνετράφησαν. δεῖ δὲ ἡμᾶς τῷ Μανεθῷ χάριν ἔχειν, ὅτι ταύτης τῆς παρανομίας οὐχὶ τοὺς ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐλθόντας ἀρχηγοὺς γενέσθαι φησὶν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ὄντας Αἰγυπτίους καὶ τούτων μάλιστα τοὺς ἱερέας ἐπινοῆσαί τε ταῦτα καὶ ὀρκωμοτῆσαι τὸ πλῆθος.

[271] Ἐκεῖνο μέντοι πῶς οὐκ ἄλογον, τῶν μὲν οἰκείων αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν φίλων συναποστῆναι οὐδένα μηδὲ τοῦ πολέμου τὸν κίνδυνον συνάρασθαι, πέμψαι δὲ τοὺς μιαροὺς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὴν παρ' ἐκείνων [272] ἐπάγεσθαι συμμαχίαν; ποίας αὐτοῖς φιλίας ἢ τίνος αὐτοῖς οἰκειότητος προϋπηργμένης; τούναντίον γὰρ ἦσαν πολέμιοι καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσι πλεῖστον διέφερον. ὁ δὲ φησιν εὐθὺς ὑπακοῦσαι τοῖς ὑπισχνουμένοις ὅτι τὴν Αἴγυπτον καθέξουσιν, ὥσπερ αὐτῶν οὐ σφόδρα τῆς χώρας ἐμπείρως ἐχόντων, [273] ἧς βιασθέντες ἐκπεπτώκασιν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀπόρως ἢ κακῶς ἔπραττον, ἴσως ἂν καὶ παρεβάλλοντο, πόλιν δὲ κατοικοῦντες εὐδαίμονα καὶ χώραν πολλὴν κρείττω τῆς Αἰγύπτου καρπούμενοι, διὰ τί ποτ' ἂν ἐχθροῖς μὲν πάλαι τὰ δὲ σώματα λελωβημένοις, οὓς μηδὲ τῶν οἰκείων οὐδεὶς ὑπέμενε, τούτοις ἔμελλον παρακινδυνεύσειν βοηθοῦντες; οὐ γὰρ δὴ γε τὸν γενησόμενον προήδεσαν δρασμὸν [274] τοῦ βασιλέως· τούναντίον γὰρ αὐτὸς εἴρηκεν ὡς ὁ παῖς τοῦ Ἀμενώφιος τριάκοντα μυριάδας ἔχων εἰς τὸ Πηλούσιον ὑπηντίαζεν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἦδεισαν πάντως οἱ παραγινόμενοι, τὴν δὲ μετάνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν φυγὴν πόθεν εἰκάζειν ἔμελλον; [275] ἔπειτα κρατήσαντάς φησι τῆς Αἰγύπτου πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ δρᾶν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπιστρατεύσαντας, καὶ περὶ τούτων ὀνειδίζει καθάπερ οὐ πολεμίους αὐτοὺς ἐπαγαγὼν ἢ δέον τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἐπικληθεῖσιν ἐγκαλεῖν, ὁπότε ταῦτα πρὸ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀφίξεως ἔπραττον καὶ πράξειν ὠμωμόκεσαν [276] οἱ τὸ γένος Αἰγύπτιοι. ἀλλὰ καὶ χρόνοις ὕστερον Ἀμένωφιος ἐπελθὼν ἐνίκησε μάχῃ καὶ κτείνων τοὺς πολεμίους μέχρι τῆς Συρίας ἤλασεν· οὕτω γὰρ παντάπασιν ἐστὶν ἡ Αἴγυπτος τοῖς [277] ὀποθενδηποτοῦν ἐπιοῦσιν εὐάλωτος. καίτοι οἱ τότε πολέμῳ κρατοῦντες αὐτήν, ζῆν πυνθανόμενοι τὸν Ἀμένωφιν, οὔτε τὰς ἐκ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας ἐμβολὰς ὠχύρωσαν, πολλὴν εἰς τοῦτο παρασκευὴν ἔχοντες, οὔτε τὴν ἄλλην ἡτοίμασαν δύναμιν. ὁ δὲ καὶ μέχρι τῆς Συρίας ἀναιρῶν, φησὶν, αὐτοὺς ἠκολούθησε διὰ τῆς ψάμμου τῆς ἀνύδρου, δῆλον ὅτι οὐ ῥάδιον [30] οὐδὲ ἀμαχεῖ στρατοπέδῳ διελθεῖν.

[278] Κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὸν Μανεθὼν οὔτε ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ γένος ἡμῶν ἐστὶν οὔτε τῶν ἐκεῖθεν τινες ἀνemiχθησαν· τῶν γὰρ λεπρῶν καὶ νοσοῦντων πολλοὺς μὲν εἰκὸς ἐν ταῖς λιθοτομίαις ἀποθανεῖν πολὺν χρόνον ἐκεῖ γενομένους καὶ κακοπαθοῦντας, πολλοὺς δ' ἐν ταῖς μετὰ ταῦτα μάχαις, πλείστους δ' ἐν τῇ τελευταίᾳ καὶ τῇ φυγῇ.

Λοιπὸν μοι πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν περὶ Μωυσέως τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα θαυμαστὸν μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ θεῖον νομίζουσι, βούλονται δὲ προσποιεῖν αὐτοῖς μετὰ βλασφημίας ἀπιθάνου, λέγοντες Ἡλιοπολίτην εἶναι τῶν ἐκεῖθεν ἱερέων ἓνα διὰ τὴν [280] λέπραν συνεξεληλασμένον. δείκνυται δ' ἐν ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς ὀκτωκαίδεκα σὺν τοῖς πεντακοσίοις πρότερον ἔτεσι γεγονῶς καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἐξαγαγὼν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πατέρας εἰς τὴν [281] χώραν τὴν νῦν οἰκουμένην ὑφ' ἡμῶν. ὅτι δ' οὐδὲ συμφορᾷ τινι τοιαύτῃ περὶ τὸ σῶμα κεχρημένος ἦν, ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δηλὸς ἐστὶ· τοῖς γὰρ λεπρῶσιν ἀπείρηκε μήτε μένειν ἐν πόλει μήτ' ἐν κώμῃ κατοικεῖν, ἀλλὰ μόνους περιπατεῖν κατεσχισμένους τὰ ἱμάτια, καὶ τὸν ἀψάμενον αὐτῶν [282] ἢ ὁμωρόφιον γενόμενον οὐ καθαρὸν ἡγεῖται. καὶ μὴν κἂν θεραπευθῇ τὸ νόσημα καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἀπολάβῃ, προεῖρηκέν τινας ἀγνείας, καθαρμοὺς πηγαίων ὑδάτων λουτροῖς καὶ ξυρήσεις πάσης τῆς τριχός, πολλὰς τε κελεύει καὶ παντοίας ἐπιτελέσαντα θυσίας τότε παρελθεῖν εἰς τὴν [283] ἱερὰν πόλιν. καίτοι τοῦναντίον εἰκὸς ἦν προνοία τινὶ καὶ φιланθρωπία χρήσασθαι τὸν ἐν τῇ συμφορᾷ ταύτῃ γεγονότα πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοίως αὐτῷ δυστυχήσαντας. οὐ μόνον δὲ περὶ τῶν λεπρῶν οὕτως ἐνομοθέτησεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῖς καὶ τὸ βραχύτατόν τι τοῦ σώματος ἡκρωτηριασμένοις ἱερᾶσθαι [284] συγκεχώρηκεν, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ μεταξύ τις ἱερώμενος τοιαύτῃ χρήσαιτο συμφορᾷ, τὴν τιμὴν αὐτὸν [285] ἀφείλετο. πῶς οὖν εἰκὸς ἐκεῖνον ταῦτα νομοθετεῖν ἀνοήτως [ἢ τοὺς] ἀπὸ τοιούτων συμφορῶν συνειλεγμένους προσέσθαι καθ' ἑαυτῶν εἰς [286] ὄνειδός τε καὶ βλάβην νόμους συντιθεμένους; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοῦνομα λίαν ἀπιθάνως μετατέθεικεν· Ὅσαρσῆφ γάρ, φησὶν, ἐκαλεῖτο. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν μετάθεσιν οὐκ

ἐναρμόζει, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ὄνομα δηλοῖ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος σωθέντα [Μωσῆν].
τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι μῶϋ καλοῦσιν.

[287] Ἰκανῶς οὖν γεγονέναι νομίζω κατάδηλον ὅτι Μανεθῶς, ἕως μὲν
ἠκολούθει ταῖς ἀρχαίαις ἀναγραφαῖς, οὐ πολὺ τῆς ἀληθείας διημάρτανεν,
ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀδεσπότους μύθους τραπόμενος ἢ συνέθηκεν αὐτοὺς ἀπιθάνως
ἢ τισι τῶν πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν εἰρηκότων ἐπίστευσεν.

Fr. 55. Syncellus, p. 134. KATA AΦΡΙΚΑΝΟΝ.

Ἐννεακαιδεκάτη δυναστεία βασιλέων ζ' Διοσπολιτῶν.

α' Σέθως, ἔτη να'.

β' Ῥαψάκης, ἔτη ξα'.

γ' Ἀμμενέφθης, ἔτη κ'.

δ' Ῥαμεσσής, ἔτη ξ'.

ε' Ἀμμενεμνῆς, ἔτη ε'.

ς' Θούωρις, ὁ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ καλούμενος Πόλυβος, Ἀλκάνδρας ἀνὴρ, ἐφ' οὗ
τὸ Ἴλιον ἐάλω, ἔτη ζ'.

Ὅμοϋ, ἔτη σθ'.

Ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ δευτέρου τόμου Μανεθῶ βασιλεῖς 4ς', ἔτη ,βρκα'.

Fr. 56 (a). Syncellus, p. 136. KATA ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΝ

Ἐννεακαιδεκάτη δυναστεία βασιλέων ε' Διοσπολιτῶν.

α' Σέθως, ἔτη νε'.

β' Ῥαμψής, ἔτη ξζ'.

γ' Ἀμμενεφθίς, ἔτη μ'.

δ' Ἀμμενέμης, ἔτη κς'.

ε' Θούωρις, ὁ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ καλούμενος Πόλυβος, Ἀλκάνδρας ἀνὴρ, ἐφ' οὗ
τὸ Ἴλιον ἐάλω, ἔτη ζ'.

Ὅμοῦ, ἔτη ρ⁴δ'.

Ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ β' τόμου Μανεθῶ βασιλέων 4β' ἔτη, 4αρκα'.

(b) Eusebius, *Chronica* I. (Armenian Version). p. 102.

Nona decima dynastia Diospolitarum regum V.

Sethos, annis LV.

Rampses, annis LXVI.

Amenephthis, annis VIII.

Ammenemes, annis XXVI.

Thuoris, ab Homero dictus Polybus, vir strenuus et fortissimus, cuius aetate
Ilium captum est, annis VII.

Summa annorum CLXXXIV.

Manethonis libro secundo conflatur summa LXXXXII regum, annorum
MMCXXI.

BOOK III.

Fr. 57 (a). Syncellus, p. 137.

ΚΑΤΑ ΑΦΡΙΚΑΝΟΝ.

Τρίτου τόμου Μανεθῶ.

Εἰκοστὴ δυναστεία βασιλέων Διοσπολιτῶν ιβ΄, οἱ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη ρλε΄.

(b) Syncellus, p. 139. ΚΑΤΑ ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΝ.

Τρίτου τόμου Μανεθῶ.

Εἰκοστὴ δυναστεία βασιλέων Διοσπολιτῶν ιβ΄, οἱ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη ροη΄.

(c) Euserius, Chronica I. (Armenian Version), p. 103.

E Manethonis tertio libro.

Vicesima dynastia Diospolitanorum regum XII, qui imperanerunt annis CLXXII.

Fr. 58. Syncellus, p. 137. ΚΑΤΑ ΑΦΡΙΚΑΝΟΝ.

Πρώτη καὶ εἰκοστὴ δυναστεία βασιλέων Τανιτῶν ζ΄.

α΄ Σμενδῆς, ἔτη κς΄.

β΄ Ψουσέννης, ἔτη μς΄.

γ΄ Νεφερχερής, ἔτη δ΄.

δ' Ἀμενωφθίς, ἔτη θ'.

ε' Ὅσοχώρ, ἔτη ς'.

ς' Ψιναχῆς, ἔτη θ'.

ζ' Ψουσέννης, ἔτη ιδ'.

Ὅμοῦ, ἔτη ρλ'.

Fr. 59 (a). Syncellus, p. 139. KATA EYSEBION.

Εἰκοστὴ πρώτη δυναστεία βασιλέων Τανιτῶν ἑπτά.

α' Σμένδης, ἔτη κς'.

β' Ψουσέννης, ἔτη μα'.

γ' Νεφερχερής, ἔτη δ'.

δ' Ἀμενωφθίς, ἔτη θ'.

ε' Ὅσοχώρ, ἔτη ς'.

ς' Ψιναχῆς, ἔτη θ'.

ζ' Ψουσέννης, ἔτη λε'.

Ὅμοῦ, ἔτη ρλ'.

(b) Eusebius, *Chronica* I. (Armenian Version), p. 103.

Vicesima prima dynastia Tanitarum regum VII.

Smendis, annis XXVI.

Psusennes, annis XLI.

Nephercheres, annis IV.

Amenophthis, annis IX.

Osochor, annis VI.

Psinnaches, annis IX.

Psusennes, annis XXXV.

Summa annorum est CXXX.

Fr. 60. Syncellus, p. 137. KATA AΦΡΙKANON

Εἰκοστὴ δευτέρα δυναστεία Βουβαστιτῶν βασιλέων θ'.

α' Σέσωγχις, ἔτη κα'.

β' Ὅσορθών, ἔτη ιε'.

γ' δ' ε' Ἄλλοι τρεῖς, ἔτη κε'.

ζ' Τακέλωθις, ἔτη ιγ'.

ζ' η' θ' Ἄλλοι τρεῖς, ἔτη μβ'.

Ὅμοῦ, ἔτη ρκ'.

Fr. 61 (a). Syncellus, p. 139. KATA EYSEBION.

Εἰκοστὴ δευτέρα δυναστεία Βουβαστιτῶν βασιλέων τριῶν.

α΄ Σεσώγγωσις, ἔτη κα΄.

β΄ Ὅσορθών, ἔτη ιε΄.

γ΄ Τακέλωθις, ἔτη ιγ΄.

Ὅμοῦ, ἔτη μθ΄.

(b) Eusebius, *Chronica I. (Armenian Version)*, p. 103.

Vicesima secunda dynastia Bubastitarum regum III.

Sesonchosis, annis XXI.

Osorthon, annis XV.

Tacelothis, annis XIII.

Summa annorum XLIX.

Fr. 62. Syncellus, p. 138. KATA AΦΡΙΚΑΝΟΝ.

Τρίτη καὶ εἰκοστὴ δυναστεία Τανιτῶν βασιλέων δ΄.

α΄ Πετουβάτης, ἔτη μ΄, ἐφ’ οὗ Ὀλυμπιάς ἤχθη πρώτη.

β΄ Ὅσορχώ, ἔτη η΄, ὃν Ἡρακλέα Αἰγύπτιοι καλοῦσι.

γ΄ Ψαμμοῦς, ἔτη ι΄.

δ' Ζήτ, ἔτη λα'.

Ὅμοῦ, ἔτη πθ'.

Fr. 63 (a). Syncellus, p. 140. KATA EYSEBION.

Εἰκοστὴ τρίτη δυναστεία Τανιτῶν βασιλέων τριῶν.

α' Πετουβάστις, ἔτη κέ'.

β' Ὅσορθῶν, ἔτη θ', ὃν Ἡρακλέα Αἰγύπτιοι ἐκάλεσαν.

γ' Ψαμμοῦς, ἔτη ι'.

Ὅμοῦ, ἔτη μδ'.

(b) Eusebius, *Chronica I. (Armenian Version)*, p. 103.

Vicesima tertia dynastia Tanitarum regum III.

Petubastis, annis XXV.

Deinde Osorthon, quem Aegyptii Herculem nuncupaverunt, annis IX.

Psammus, annis X.

Summa annorum XLIV.

Fr. 64. Syncellus, p. 138. KATA AΦΡΙΚΑΝΟΝ.

Τετάρτη καὶ εἰκοστὴ δυναστεία.

Βόχχωρις Σαΐτης, ἔτη ς´, ἐφ´ οὗ ἀρνίον ἐφθέγγετο . . . ἔτη λ´.

Fr. 65 (a). Syncellus, p. 140. KATA EYSEBION.

Εἰκοστὴ τετάρτη δυναστεία.

Βόχχωρις Σαΐτης, ἔτη μδ´, ἐφ´ οὗ ἀρνίον ἐφθέγγετο. Ὅμοῦ, ἔτη μδ´.

(b) Eusebius, *Chronica* I. (Armenian Version), p. [104]

Vicesima quarta dynastia.

Bocchoris Saïtes, annis XLIV, sub quo agnus locutus est.

Fr. 66. Syncellus, p. 138. KATA AΦΡΙΚΑΝΟΝ.

Πέμπτη καὶ εἰκοστὴ δυναστεία Αἰθιοπῶν βασιλέων τριῶν.

α´ Σαβάκων, ὃς αἰχμάλωτον Βόχχωριν ἐλὼν ἔκαυσε ζῶντα, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη η´.

β´ Σεβιχὼς υἱός, ἔτη ιδ´.

γ´ Τάρκος, ἔτη ιη´.

Ὅμοῦ, ἔτη μ´.

Fr. 67 (a). Syncellus, p. 140. KATA EYSEBION.

Εἰκοστὴ πέμπτῃ δυναστείᾳ Αἰθιοπῶν βασιλέων τριῶν.

α΄ Σαβάκων, ὃς αἰχμάλωτον Βόχχωριν ἐλὼν ἔκαυσε ζῶντα, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ιβ΄.

β΄ Σεβιχὼς υἱός, ἔτη ιβ΄.

γ΄ Ταρακός, ἔτη κ΄.

Όμοῦ, ἔτη μδ΄.

(b) Eusebius, *Chronica* I. (Armenian Version), p. 104.

Vicesima quinta dynastia Aethiopum regum III.

Sabacon, qui captum Bocchorim vivum combussit, regnavitque annis XII.

Sebichos eius filius, annis XII.

Saracus, annis XX.

Summa annorum XLIV.

Fr. 68. Syncellus, p. 141. KATA ΑΦΡΙΚΑΝΟΝ.

Ἑκτὴ καὶ εἰκοστὴ δυναστεία Σαῖτῶν βασιλέων ἐννέα.

α΄ Στεφινάτης, ἔτη ζ΄.

β΄ Νεχεψώς, ἔτη ς΄.

γ΄ Νεχαώ, ἔτη η΄.

δ' Ψαμμήτιχος, ἔτη νδ'.

ε' Νεχαὼ δεύτερος, ἔτη ς'. οὗτος εἴλε τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ, καὶ Ἰωάχαζ τὸν βασιλέα αἰχμάλωτον εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπήγαγε.

ς' Ψάμμουθις ἕτερος, ἔτη ἕξ.

ζ' Οὐάφρις, ἔτη ιθ', ᾧ προσέφυγον ἀλούσης ὑπὸ Ἀσσυρίων Ἱερουσαλήμ οἱ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὑπόλοιποι.

η' Ἄμωσις, ἔτη μδ'.

θ' Ψαμμεχερίτης, μῆνας ς'.

Ὅμοῦ, ἔτη ρν' καὶ μῆνας ς'.

Fr. 69 (a). Syncellus, p. 143. KATA EYSEBION.

Ἑκτη καὶ εἰκοστὴ δυναστεία Σαῖτῶν βασιλέων θ'.

α' Ἀμμέρις Αἰθίοψ, ἔτη ιβ'.

β' Στεφινάθις, ἔτη ζ'.

γ' Νεχεψῶς, ἔτη ς'.

δ' Νεχαὼ, ἔτη η'.

ε' Ψαμμήτιχος, ἔτη με'.

ς' Νεχαὼ δεύτερος, ἔτη ς'. οὗτος εἴλε τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ, καὶ Ἰωάχαζ τὸν βασιλέα αἰχμάλωτον εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπήγαγε.

ζ΄ Ψάμμουθις ἕτερος, ὁ καὶ Ψαμμήτιχος, ἔτη ιζ΄.

η΄ Οὔαφρις, ἔτη κε΄, ᾧ προσέφυγον ἀλούσης ὑπὸ Ἀσσυρίων τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ οἱ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὑπόλοιποι.

θ΄ Ἄμωσις, ἔτη μβ΄.

Ὅμοῦ, ἔτη ρξγ΄.

(b) Eusebius, *Chronica* I. (Armenian Version), p. 104.

Vicesima sexta dynastia Saïtarum regum IX.

Ameres Aethiops, annis XVIII.

Stephinathes, annis VII.

Nechepsos, annis VI.

Nechao, annis VIII.

Psametichus, annis XLIV.

Nechao alter, annis VI. Ab hoc Hierosolyma capta sunt, Iochasusque rex in Aegyptum captivus abductus.

Psamuthes alter, qui et Psammetichus, annis XVII.

Uaphres, annis XXV, ad quem reliquiae Iudaeorum, Hierosolymis in Assyriorum potestatem redactis, confugerunt.

Amosis, annis XLII.

Summa annorum CLXVII.

Fr. 70. Syncellus, p. 141. KATA AΦΡΙKANON.

Ἐβδόμη καὶ εἰκοστὴ δυναστεία Περσῶν βασιλέων η´.

α´ Καμβύσης ἔτει ε´ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείας Περσῶν ἐβασίλευσεν Αἰγύπτου ἔτη ς´.

β´ Δαρεῖος Ὑστάσπου, ἔτη λς´.

γ´ Ξέρξης ὁ μέγας, ἔτη κα´.

δ´ Ἀρτάβανος, μῆνας ζ´.

ε´ Ἀρταξέρξης, ἔτη μα´.

ς´ Ξέρξης, μῆνας δύο.

ζ´ Σογδιανός, μῆνας ζ´.

η´ Δαρεῖος Ξέρξου, ἔτη ιθ´.

Ὅμοῦ, ἔτη ρκδ´, μῆνες δ´.

Fr. 71 (a). Syncellus, p. 143. KATA EYΣEBION.

Εἰκοστὴ ἐβδόμη δυναστεία Περσῶν βασιλέων η´.

α´ Καμβύσης ἔτει πέμπτῳ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ἐβασίλευσεν Αἰγύπτου ἔτη γ´.

β' Μάγοι, μήνας ζ'.

γ' Δαρεῖος ἔτη λς'.

δ' Ξέρξης ὁ Δαρείου, ἔτη κα'.

ε' Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ μακρόχειρ, ἔτη μ'.

ς' Ξέρξης ὁ δεύτερος, μήνας β'.

ζ' Σογδιανός, μήνας ζ'.

η' Δαρεῖος ὁ Ξέρξου, ἔτη ιθ'.

Ὅμοῦ, ἔτη ρκ' καὶ μήνες δ'.

(b) Eusebius, *Chronica* I. (Armenian Version), p. 105.

Vicesima septima dynastia Persarum regum VIII.

Cambyses, qui regni sui quinto anno Aegyptiorum potitus est, annis III.

Magi, mensibus septem.

Darius, annis XXXVI.

Xerxes Darii, annis XXI.

Artaxerxes, annis XL.

Xerxes alter, mensibus II.

Sogdianus, mensibus VII.

Darius Xerxis, annis XIX.

Summa annorum CXX, mensiumque IV.

Fr. 72 (a) Syncellus, p. 142. KATA AΦPIKANON.

Εἰκοστὴ ὀγδὴ δυναστεία. Ἀμύρτεος Σαΐτης, ἔτη ς´.

(b) Syncellus, p. 144. KATA EYSEBION.

Εἰκοστὴ ὀγδὴ δυναστεία. Ἀμυρταῖος Σαΐτης, ἔτη ς´.

(c) Eusebius, Chronica I. (Armenian Version), p. 105.

Vicesima octava dynastia. Amyrtes Saïtes, annis VI.

Fr. 73 (a). Syncellus, p. 142. KATA AΦPIKANON.

Ἐνάτη καὶ εἰκοστὴ δυναστεία. Μενδήσιοι βασιλεῖς δ´.

α´ Νεφερίτης, ἔτη ς´.

β´ Ἀχωρις, ἔτη ιγ´.

γ´ Ψάμμουθις, ἔτος α´.

δ´ Νεφερίτης, μῆνας δ´.

Ὅμοῦ, ἔτη κ´, μῆνες δ´.

(b) Syncellus, p. 144. KATA EYSEBION.

Εἰκοστὴ ἐνάτη δυναστεία. Μενδήσιοι βασιλεῖς δ´.

α' Νεφερίτης, ἔτη ς'.

β' Ἀχωρίς, ἔτη ιγ'.

γ' Ψάμμουθις, ἔτος α'.

δ' Νεφερίτης, μῆνας δ'.

ε' Μοῦθις, ἔτος α'.

Ὅμοῦ, ἔτη κα' καὶ μῆνες δ'.

(c) Eusebius, *Chronica* I. (Armenian Version), p. 106.

Vicesima nona dynastia Mendesiorum regum quattuor.

Nepherites, annis VI.

Achoris, annis XIII.

Psamuthes, anno I.

Muthes, anno I.

Nepherites mensibus IV.

Summa annorum XXI, mensiumque IV.

Fr. 74 (a). Syncellus, p. 144. KATA AΦΠΙΚΑΝΟΝ.

Τριακοστὴ δυναστεία Σεβεννυτῶν βασιλέων τριῶν.

α' Νεκτανέβης, ἔτη ιη'.

β' Τεώς, ἔτη β'.

γ' Νεκτανεβός, ἔτη ιη'.

Όμοῦ, ἔτη λη'.

(b) Syncellus, p. 145 KATA EYΣEBION

Τριακοστὴ δυναστεία Σεβεννυτῶν βασιλέων τριῶν.

α' Νεκτανέβης, ἔτη ι'.

β' Τεώς, ἔτη β'.

γ' Νεκτανεβός, ἔτη η'.

Όμοῦ, ἔτη κ'.

(c) Eusebius, Chronica I. (Armenian Version), p. 106.

Tricesima dynastia Sebennytarum regum III.

Nectanebis, annis X.

Teos, annis II.

Nectanebus, annis VIII.

Summa annorum XX.

Fr. 75 (a). Syncellus, p. 145. KATA AΦPIKANON.

Πρώτη καὶ τριακοστὴ δυνατεία Περσῶν βασιλέων τριῶν.

α΄ Ώχος εἰκοστῷ ἔτει τῆς ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείας Περσῶν ἐβασίλευσεν Αἰγύπτου ἔτη β΄.

β΄ Ἀρσῆς, ἔτη γ΄.

γ΄ Δαρεῖος, ἔτη δ΄.

Ὅμοῦ, ἔτη τρίτου τόμου , αν΄

Μέχρι τῶνδε Μανεθῶ.

(b) Syncellus, p. 146. KATA EYSEBION.

Τριακοστὴ πρώτη δυναστεία Περσῶν βασιλέων τριῶν.

α΄ Ώχος εἰκοστῷ ἔτει τῆς αὐτοῦ Περσῶν βασιλείας κρατεῖ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἔτη ς΄

β΄ Μεθ’ ὃν Ἀρσῆς Ώχου, ἔτη δ΄.

γ΄ Μεθ’ ὃν Δαρεῖος, ἔτη ἕξ· ὃν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν καθεῖλε.

Ταῦτα τοῦ τρίτου [τόμου] Μανεθῶ.

Μέχρι τῶνδε Μανεθῶ.

(c) Eusebius, Chronica I. (Armenian Version), p. 107.

Tricesima prima dynastia Persarum.

Ochus vicesimo iam anno Persis imperitans Aegyptum occupavit tenuitque annis VI.

Postea Arses Ochi, annis IV.

Tum Darius, annis VI, quem Macedo Alexander interfecit. Atque haec e
Manethonis tertio libro.

THE SACRED BOOK

Η ΙΕΡΑ ΒΙΒΛΟΣ

Fr 76. Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, II Prooem., p. 44 C (Gifford).

Πᾶσαν μὲν οὖν τὴν Αἰγυπτιακὴν ἱστορίαν εἰς πλάτος τῇ Ἑλλήνων μετείληφε φωνῇ ἰδίως τε τὰ περὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτοὺς θεολογίας Μανεθῶς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, ἔν τε ἣ ἔγραψεν Ἱερᾶ βίβλῳ καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις αὐτοῦ συγγράμμασι.

Cf. Theodoretus, *Curatio*, II, p. 61 (Räder):

Μανεθῶς δὲ τὰ περὶ Ἰσιδος καὶ Ὀσίριδος καὶ Ἄπιδος καὶ Σαράπιδος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐμυθολόγησε.

Fr. 77. Plutarch, De Is. et Osir., 9.

Ἔτι δὲ τῶν πολλῶν νομιζόντων ἴδιον παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ὄνομα τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι τὸν Ἄμοῦν (ὃ παράγοντες ἡμεῖς Ἀμμωνα λέγομεν), Μανεθῶς μὲν ὁ Σεβεννύτης τὸ κεκρυμμένον οἶεται καὶ τὴν κρύψιν ὑπὸ ταύτης δηλοῦσθαι τῆς φωνῆς . . .

Fr. 78. Plutarch, De Is. et Osir., 49.

Βέβωνα δὲ τινὲς μὲν ἓνα τῶν τοῦ Τυφῶνος ἐταίρων γεγονέναι λέγουσιν, Μανεθῶς δ' αὐτὸν τὸν Τυφῶνα καὶ Βέβωνα καλεῖσθαι· σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτονομα κάθεξιν ἢ κώλυσιν, ὥς τοῖς πράγμασιν ὁδῶ βαδίζουσι καὶ πρὸς ὃ χρὴ φερομένοις ἐνισταμένης τῆς τοῦ Τυφῶνος δυνάμεως.

Fr. 79. Plutarch, De Is. et Osir., 62.

Ἦοικε δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὰ Αἰγύπτια. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἰσιν πολλάκις τῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὀνόματι καλοῦσι φράζοντι τοιοῦτον λόγον “ἦλθον ἀπ’ ἐμαυτῆς,” ὅπερ ἐστὶν αὐτοκινήτου φορᾶς δηλωτικόν· ὁ δὲ Τυφών, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, Σὴθ καὶ Βέβων καὶ Σμὺ ὀνομάζεται, βίαιόν τινα καὶ κωλυτικὴν ἐπίσχεσιν [ἢ τιν’] ὑπεναντίωσιν ἢ ἀναστροφὴν ἐμφαίνειν βουλομένων τῶν ὀνομάτων. ἔτι τὴν σιδηρῆτιν λίθον, ὁστέον Ὁρου, Τυφῶνος δὲ τὸν σίδηρον, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Μανεθῶς, καλοῦσιν. ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ σίδηρος πολλάκις μὲν ἐλκομένῳ καὶ ἐπομένῳ πρὸς τὴν λίθον ὁμοίος ἐστὶ, πολλάκις δ’ ἀποστρέφεται καὶ ἀποκρούεται πρὸς τοῦναντίον, οὕτως ἡ σωτήριος καὶ ἀγαθὴ καὶ λόγον ἔχουσα τοῦ κόσμου κίνησις ἐπιστρέφεται τε καὶ προσάγεται καὶ μαλακωτέραν ποιεῖ, πείθουσα τὴν σκληρὰν ἐκείνην καὶ τυφώνειον, εἴτ’ αὖθις ἀνασχεθεῖσα εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἀνέστρεψε καὶ κατέδυσεν εἰς τὴν ἀπορίαν.

Fr. 80. Plutarch, De Is. et Osir., 28.

Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Σωτὴρ ὄναρ εἶδε τὸν ἐν Σινώπῃ τοῦ Πλούτωνος κολοσσόν, οὐκ ἐπιστάμενος οὐδὲ ἑωρακῶς πρότερον οἶος [ἦν] τὴν μορφήν, κελεύοντα κομίσαι τὴν ταχίστην αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. ἀγνοοῦντι δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀποροῦντι, ποῦ καθίδρυται, καὶ διηγουμένῳ τοῖς φίλοις τὴν ὄψιν, εὐρέθη πολυπλανὴς ἄνθρωπος, ὄνομα Σωσίβιος, ἐν Σινώπῃ φάμενος ἑωρακέναί τοιοῦτον κολοσσόν, οἶον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἰδεῖν ἔδοξεν. ἔπεμψεν οὖν Σωτέλῃ καὶ Διονύσιον, οἱ χρόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ μόλις, οὐκ ἄνευ μέντοι θείας προνοίας, ἦγαγον ἐκκλέψαντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ κομισθεὶς ὤφθη, συμβαλόντες οἱ περὶ Τιμόθεον τὸν ἐξηγητὴν καὶ Μανέθωνα τὸν Σεβεννύτην Πλούτωνος ὄν ἄγαλμα, τῷ Κερβέρῳ τεκμαιρόμενοι καὶ τῷ δράκοντι, πείθουσι τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, ὡς ἐτέρου θεῶν οὐδενὸς ἀλλὰ Σαράπιδός ἐστιν. οὐ γὰρ

ἐκεῖθεν οὕτως ὀνομαζόμενος ἦκεν, ἀλλ' εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν κομισθεὶς τὸ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ὄνομα τοῦ Πλούτωνος ἐκτήσατο τὸν Σάραπιν.

Fr. 81. Aelian, De Natura Animalium, X, 16 (Hercher).

Ἀκούω δὲ καὶ Μανέθωνα τὸν Αἰγύπτιον, σοφίας ἐς ἄκρον ἐληλακότα ἄνδρα, εἰπεῖν ὅτι γάλακτος υἱοῦ ὁ γευσάμενος ἀλφῶν ὑποπίμπλαται καὶ λέπρας· μισοῦσι δὲ ἄρα οἱ Ἀσιανοὶ πάντες τάδε τὰ πάθη. πεπιστεύκασι δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι τὴν ὕν καὶ ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ ἐχθίστην εἶναι· ὅταν οὖν πανηγυρίζωσι τῇ σελήνῃ, θύουσιν αὐτῇ ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτους ὕς, ἄλλοτε δὲ οὔτε ἐκεῖνη οὔτε ἄλλῳ τῶν θεῶν τόδε τὸ ζῶον ἐθέλουσι θύειν.

AN EPITOME OF PHYSICAL DOCTRINES

ΕΠΙΤΟΜΗ ΤΩΝ ΦΥΣΙΚΩΝ

Fr. 82. Diogenes Laertius, Prooem, § 10 (Hicks, L.C.L.).

Θεοὺς δ' εἶναι ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην· τὸν μὲν Ὅσιριν, τὴν δ' Ἴσιν καλουμένην. αἰνίττεσθαί τε αὐτοὺς διὰ τε κανθάρου καὶ δράκοντος καὶ ἰέρακος καὶ ἄλλων, ὥς φησι Μανεθῶς ἐν τῇ τῶν Φυσικῶν Ἐπιτομῇ.

Fr. 83. Eusebius, Praepar. Evang., III, 2, p. 87 d (Gifford).

Τὴν Ἰσὶν φασὶ καὶ τὸν Ὅσιριν τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην εἶναι, καὶ Δία μὲν τὸ διὰ πάντων χωροῦν πνεῦμα, Ἥφαιστον δὲ τὸ πῦρ, τὴν δὲ γῆν Δήμητραν ἐπονομάσαι· Ὠκεανόν τε τὸ ὑγρὸν ὀνομάζεσθαι παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς ποταμὸν Νεῖλον, ᾧ καὶ τὰς τῶν θεῶν ἀναθεῖναι γενέσεις· τὸν δὲ ἄερα φασὶν αὐτοὺς προσαγορεύειν Ἀθηνᾶν. τούτους δὲ τοὺς πέντε θεοὺς, τὸν Ἀέρα λέγω καὶ τὸ Ὑδωρ τό τε Πῦρ καὶ τὴν Γῆν καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα, τὴν πᾶσαν οἰκουμένην ἐπιπορεύεσθαι, ἄλλοτε ἄλλως εἰς μορφὰς καὶ ἰδέας ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ παντοίων ζώων σχηματιζομένους· καὶ τούτων ὁμωνύμους παρ' αὐτοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις γεγονέναι θνητοὺς ἀνθρώπους, Ἥλιον καὶ Κρόνον καὶ Ῥέαν, ἔτι δὲ Δία καὶ Ἥραν καὶ Ἥφαιστον καὶ Ἑστίαν ἐπονομασθέντας. γράφει δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τούτων πλατύτερον μὲν ὁ Μανεθῶς, ἐπιτετμημένως δὲ ὁ Διόδωρος . . .

Cf. Theodoretus, Curatio, III, p. 80 (Räder).

ON FESTIVALS

ΠΕΡΙ ΕΟΡΤΩΝ

Fr. 84. Joannes Lydus, De Mensibus, IV, 87 (Wünsch).

Ἰστέον δέ, ὡς ὁ Μανέθων ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐορτῶν λέγει τὴν ἡλιακὴν ἔκλειψιν
πονηρὰν ἐπίρροιαν ἀνθρώποις ἐπιφέρειν περί τε τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸν
στόμαχον.

ON THE MAKING OF KYPHI

ΠΕΡΙ ΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΗΣ ΚΥΦΙΩΝ

Fr. 87. Plutarch, De Is. et Osir., 80.

Τὸ δὲ κῦφι μῖγμα μὲν ἐκκαίδεκα μερῶν συντιθεμένων ἐστί, μέλιτος καὶ οἴνου καὶ σταφίδος καὶ κυπέρου, ῥητίνης τε καὶ σμύρνης καὶ ἀσπαλάθου καὶ σεσέλεως, ἔτι δὲ σχίνου τε καὶ ἀσφάλτου καὶ θρύου καὶ λαπάθου, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀρκευθίδων ἀμφοῖν (ὧν τὴν μὲν μείζονα, τὴν δ' ἐλάττονα καλοῦσι) καὶ καρδαμώμου καὶ καλάμου.

ON ANCIENT RITUAL AND RELIGION

ΠΕΡΙ ΑΡΧΑΪΣΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΣ

Fr. 85. Porphyrius, De Abstinencia, II, 55 (Nauck).

Κατέλυσε δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἡλίου πόλει τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸν τῆς ἀνθρωποκτονίας νόμον Ἄμωσις, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ Μανεθὼς ἐν τῷ περὶ ἀρχαΐσμοῦ καὶ εὐσεβείας. ἐθύοντο δὲ τῇ Ἥρᾳ, καὶ ἐδοκιμάζοντο καθάπερ οἱ ζητούμενοι καθαροὶ μόσχοι καὶ συσφραγίζόμενοι· ἐθύοντο δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας τρεῖς, ἀνθ' ὧν κηρίνους ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Ἄμωσις τοὺς ἴσους ἐπιτίθεσθαι.

See also Eusebius, Praepar. Evang., IV, 16, p. [155] d (Gifford): Theodoretus, Curatio, VII, p. 192 (Räder).

Fr. 86. Plutarch, De Is. et Osir., 73.

Πολλῶν δὲ λεγόντων εἰς ταῦτα τὰ ζῶα τὴν Τυφῶνος αὐτοῦ διηρῆσθαι ψυχὴν, αἰνίττεσθαι δόξειεν ἂν ὁ μῦθος, ὅτι πᾶσα φύσις ἄλογος καὶ θηριώδης τῆς τοῦ κακοῦ δαίμονος γέγονε μοίρας, κάκεῖνον ἐκμειλισσόμενοι καὶ παρηγοροῦντες περιέπουσι ταῦτα καὶ θεραπεύουσιν· ἂν δὲ πολὺς ἐμπίπτη καὶ χαλεπὸς αὐχμὸς ἐπάγων ὑπερβαλλόντως ἢ νόσους ὀλεθρίους ἢ συμφορὰς ἄλλας παραλόγους καὶ ἀλλοκότους, ἔνια τῶν τιμωμένων οἱ ἱερεῖς ἀπάγοντες ὑπὸ σκότῳ μετὰ σιωπῆς καὶ ἡσυχίας ἀπειλοῦσι καὶ δεδίττονται τὸ πρῶτον, ἂν δ' ἐπιμένῃ, καθιερεύουσι καὶ σφάττουσιν. ὥς δὴ τινα κολασμὸν ὄντα τοῦ δαίμονος τοῦτον ἢ καθαρμὸν ἄλλως μέγαν ἐπὶ μεγίστοις· καὶ γὰρ ἐν Εἰλειθυίας πόλει ζῶντας ἀνθρώπους κατεπίμπρασαν, ὡς Μανεθὼς ἱστόρηκε, Τυφωνεῖους καλοῦντες, καὶ τὴν τέφραν αὐτῶν λικμῶντες ἠφάνιζον καὶ διέσπειρον. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἐδρᾶτο

φανερῶς καὶ καθ' ἓνα καιρὸν ἐν ταῖς κυνάσιν ἡμέραις· αἱ δὲ τῶν τιμωμένων ζώων καθιερεύσεις ἀπόρρητοι καὶ χρόνοις ἀτάκτοις πρὸς τὰ συμπίπτοντα γινόμεναι, τοὺς πολλοὺς λανθάνουσι, πλὴν ὅταν [Ἄπιδος] ταφὰς ἔχωσι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀναδεικνύντες ἓνια πάντων παρόντων συνεμβάλλωσιν, οἰόμενοι τοῦ Τυφῶνος ἀντιλυπεῖν καὶ κολοῦειν τὸ ἡδόμενον.

CRITICISMS OF HERODOTUS

[ΤΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΝ]

Fr. 88. Etymologicum Magnum (Gaisford), s.v. Λεοντοκόμος.

Τὸ δὲ λέων παρὰ τὸ λάω, τὸ θεωρῶ· ὀξυδερκέστατον γὰρ τὸ θηρίον, ὥς φησι Μανέθων ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἡρόδοτον, ὅτι οὐδέποτε καθεύδει ὁ λέων, τοῦτο δὲ ἀπίθανον . . .

Eustathius on Homer, Iliad, XI, 480:

(Τινὲς λέγουσιν) ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ λάω, τὸ βλέπω, γίνεται ὥσπερ ὁ λέων, οὕτω καὶ ὁ λῖς, κατὰ τὸν γραμματικὸν Ὠρον, ὡς ὀξυδερκῆς, καὶ ὅτι, ὥς φησι Μανέθων ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Ἡρόδοτον, οὐ καθεύδει ὁ λέων ὅπερ ἀπίθανον . . .

The Biography



The Great Pyramid of Giza (the Pyramid of Cheops) is the oldest and largest of the three pyramids in the Giza pyramid complex bordering what is now El Giza, Egypt.

INTRODUCTION TO MANETHO by W. G. Waddell



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Introduction

Among the Egyptians who wrote in Greek, Manetho the priest holds a unique place because of his comparatively early date (the third century B.C.) and the interest of his subject-matter — the history and religion of Ancient Egypt. His works in their original form would possess the highest importance and value for us now, if only we could recover them; but until the fortunate discovery of a papyrus, which will transmit the authentic Manetho, we can know his writings only from fragmentary and often distorted quotations preserved chiefly by Josephus and by the Christian chronographers, Africanus and Eusebius, with isolated passages in Plutarch, Theophilus, Aelian, Porphyrius, Diogenes Laertius, Theodoretus, Lydus, Malalas, the Scholia to Plato, and the *Etymologicum Magnum* .

Like Bêrôssos, who is of slightly earlier date, Manetho testifies to the growth of an international spirit in the Alexandrine age: each of these “barbarians” wrote in Greek an account of his native country; and it stirs the imagination to think of their endeavour to bridge the gulf and instruct all Greek-speaking people (that is to say the whole civilized world of their time) in the history of Egypt and Chaldaea. But these two writers stand alone: the Greeks indeed wrote from time to time of the wonders of Egypt (works no longer extant), but it was long before an Egyptian successor of Manetho appeared — Ptolemy of Mendês, probably under Augustus.

The writings of Manetho, however, continued to be read with interest; and his *Egyptian History* was used for special purposes, *e.g.* by the Jews when they engaged in polemic against Egyptians in order to prove their extreme antiquity. (See further pp. xvi ff.) Manetho’s religious writings are known to us mostly through references in Plutarch’s treatise *On Isis and Osiris* .

The Life of Manetho: Traditions and Conjectures

Our knowledge of Manetho is for the most part meagre and uncertain; but three statements of great probability may be made. They concern his native place, his priesthood at Héliopolis, and his activity in the introduction of the cult of Serapis.

The name Manetho (Μανεθώς, often written Μανέθων) has been explained as meaning “Truth of Thôth”, and a certain priest under Dynasty XIX is described as “First Priest of the Truth of Thôth”. According to Dr. Černý “Manetho” is from the Coptic “groom”; but the word does not seem to occur elsewhere as a proper name. In regard to the date of Manetho, Syncellus in one passage gives us the information that he lived later than Bêrôssos: elsewhere he puts Manetho as “almost contemporary with Bêrôssos, or a little later”. Bêrôssos, who was priest of Marduk at Babylon, lived under, and wrote for, Antiochus I, whose reign lasted from 285 to 261 B.C.; and Bêrôssos dedicated his *Χαλδαϊκά* to this king after he became sole monarch in 281 B.C. The works of Manetho and Bêrôssos may be interpreted as an expression of the rivalry of the two kings, Ptolemy and Antiochus, each seeking to proclaim the great antiquity of his land.

Under the name of Manetho, Suidas seems to distinguish two writers: (1) Manetho of Mendês in Egypt, a chief priest who wrote on the making of kyphi (*i.e.* Fr. 87): (2) Manetho of Diospolis or Sebennytus. (Works): *A Treatise on Physical Doctrines* (*i.e.* Fr. 82, 83). *Apotelesmatica* (or *Astrological Influences*), in hexameter verses, and other astrological works. (See , note 3.) Nowhere else is Manetho connected with Mendês; but as Mendês was distant only about 17 miles from Sebennytus across the Damietta arm of the Nile, the attribution is not impossible. Müller suspects confusion with Ptolemy of Mendês, an Egyptian priest (probably in the time of Augustus), who, like Manetho, wrote a work on Egyptian Chronology in

three books. In the second note of Suidas Diospolis may be identified, not with Diospolis Magna (the famous Thebes) nor with Diospolis Parva, but with Diospolis Inferior, in the Delta (now Tell el-Balamûn), the capital of the Diospolite or 17th nome to the north of the Sebennyte nome and contiguous with it. Diospolis Inferior lay near Damietta, •some 30 miles from Sebennytus. (See Strabo, 17.1.19, and Baedeker, *Egypt and the Sûdân*, 8th ed. (1929), .) We may therefore accept the usual description of Manetho (Fr. 3, 77, 80: Syncellus, 72.16), and hold that he was a native of Sebennytus (now Samannûd) in the Delta, on the west bank of the Damietta branch of the Nile. Manetho was a priest, and doubtless held office at one time in the temple at Sebennytus; but in the letter (App. I) which he is said to have written to Ptolemy II Philadelphus, he describes himself as “high-priest and scribe of the sacred shrines of Egypt, born at Sebennytus and dwelling at Hêliopolis”. Although the letter, as we have it, is not genuine in all its details, this description may have been borrowed from a good source; and while his precise rank as a priest remains in doubt, it is reasonable to believe that Manetho rose to be high-priest in the temple at Hêliopolis.¹⁰ This eminent position agrees with the important part he played in the introduction of the cult of Serapis. As a Heliopolitan priest, Manetho (to quote from Laqueur, Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *R.-E.* XIV., 1061) “was, without doubt, acquainted with the sacred tree in the great Hall of Hêliopolis, — the tree on which the goddess Seshat, the Lady of Letters, the Mistress of the Library, wrote down with her own hand the names and deeds of the rulers. He did nothing more than communicate to the Greek world what the goddess had noted down. But he did so with a full sense of the superiority which relied on the sacred records of the Egyptians in opposition to Herodotus whom he was contradicting” (Fr. 43, § 73: Fr. 88). His native town, Sebennytus, was visited as a place of learning by Solon when Ethêmôn was a priest in residence there (see Proclus *in Plat. Tim.* I.101, 22,

Diehl); and the Greek culture of the place must have been a formative influence upon Manetho at an early age.

In the introduction of the statue of Serapis to Alexandria as described by Plutarch (Manetho, Fr. 80), Manetho the Egyptian was associated with the Greek Timotheus as a priestly adviser of King Ptolemy Sôter. It is natural to suppose that the cult of Serapis itself, which was a conflation of Egyptian and Greek ideas intended to be acceptable to both nationalities, had already been organized with the help of the two priests, and the magnificent temple in Rhakôtis, the Egyptian quarter in the west of Alexandria, had doubtless been built. The date is not certain: according to Jerome (Fotheringham, , Helm,) “Sarapis entered Alexandria” in 286 B.C., while the Armenian Version of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius says that in 278 B.C. “Sarapis came to Alexandria, and became resident there” (Karst, 200). Perhaps the two statements refer to different stages in the development of the cult: if the former describes the entry of the statue by Bryaxis, the latter may possibly refer to the final establishment of the whole theology. As a proof that the work of Manetho in building up the cult of Serapis must not be belittled, it may suffice to refer to the inscription of the name Μανεθών on the base of a marble bust found in the ruins of the Temple of Serapis at Carthage (*Corpus Inscr. Lat.* VIII .1007). The name is so uncommon that the probability is that the bust which originally stood on this base represented the Egyptian Manetho, and was erected in his honour because of his effective contribution to the organization of the cult of Serapis. Hence it is not impossible also that the following reference in a papyrus of 241 B.C. may be to Manetho of Sebennytus. It occurs in a document containing correspondence about a Temple Seal (P. Hibeh, I.72, vv. 6, 7, γράφειν Μανεθῶι). The person named was evidently a well-known man in priestly circles: he was probably our Manetho, the writer on Egyptian history and religion, if he lived to a considerable age.

Manetho's Works

Eight works have been attributed to Manetho: (1) *Αἰγυπτιακά* , or *The History of Egypt* , (2) *The Book of Sothis* , (3) *The Sacred Book* , (4) *An Epitome of Physical Doctrines* , (5) *On Festivals* , (6) *On Ancient Ritual and Religion* , (7) *On the Making of Kyphi* [a kind of incense], (8) *Criticisms of Herodotus* .

Of these, (2) *The Book of Sôthis* (App. IV and pp. xxvii ff.) is certainly not by Manetho; and there is no reason to believe that (8) *Criticisms of Herodotus* formed a separate work, although we know from Josephus *C. Apion*. I .73 (Fr. 42), that Manetho did convict Herodotus of error. Six titles remain, but it has long been thought that some of these are “ghost” titles. Fruin (*Manetho* ,) supposed that Manetho wrote only two works — one on Egyptian history, the other on Egyptian mythology and antiquities. Susemihl (*Alex. Lit.-Gesch.* I.609, n. 431) and W. Otto (*Priester und Tempel in Hellenistischen Ägypten* , II.215, n. 4) modified this extreme view: they recognized three distinct works of Manetho (*The History of Egypt* , *The Sacred Book* , and *An Epitome of Physical Doctrines*), and assumed that the titles *On Festivals* , *On Ancient Ritual and Religion* , and *On the Making of Kyphi* referred to passages in *The Sacred Book* . In the paucity of our data, no definite judgement seems possible as to whether Manetho wrote six works or only three; but in support of the former theory we may refer to Eusebius (Man. Fr. 76).

The History of Egypt

The *Egyptian History* of Manetho is preserved in extracts of two kinds. (1) Excerpts from the original work are preserved by Josephus, along with other passages which can only be pseudo-Manethonian. The Jews of the three centuries following the time of Manetho were naturally keenly interested in his *History* because of the connexion of their ancestors with Egypt — Abraham, Joseph, and Moses the leader of the Exodus; and they sought to base their theories of the origin and antiquity of the Jews securely upon the authentic traditions of Egypt. In Manetho indeed they found an unwelcome statement of the descent of the Jews from lepers; but they were able to identify their ancestors with the Hyksôs, and the Exodus with the expulsion of these invaders. The efforts of Jewish apologists account for much re-handling, enlargement, and corruption of Manetho's text, and the result may be seen in the treatise of Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, I.

(2) An *Epitome* of Manetho's history had been made at an early date, — not by Manetho himself, there is reason to believe, — in the form of Lists of Dynasties with short notes on outstanding kings or important events. The remains of this *Epitome* are preserved by Christian chronographers, especially by Africanus and Eusebius. Their aim was to compare the chronologies of the Oriental nations with the Bible, and for this purpose the *Epitome* gave an ideal conspectus of the whole *History*, omitting, as it does, narratives such as the account of the Hyksôs preserved by Josephus. Of the two chronographers, the founder of Christian chronography, Sextus Julius Africanus, whose *Chronicle* came down to A.D. 217 or A.D. 221, transmits the *Epitome* in a more accurate form; while Eusebius, whose work extends to A.D. 326, is responsible for unwarranted alterations of the original text of Manetho. About A.D. 800 George the Monk, who is known as Syncellus from his religious office (as “attendant” of Tarasius, Patriarch

of Constantinople), made use of Manetho's work in various forms in his *Εκλογή Χρονογραφίας* , a history of the world from Adam to Diocletian. Syncellus sought to prove that the incarnation took place in Anno Mundi 5500; and in his survey of the thirty-one Egyptian dynasties which reigned from the Flood to Darius, he relied on the authoritative work of Manetho as transmitted by Africanus and Eusebius, and as handed down in a corrupt form in the *Old Chronicle* (App. III) and the *Book of Sôthis* (App. IV) which had been used by the chronographer Panodôrus (c. A.D. 400).

Even from the above brief statement of the transmission of Manetho's text, it will be seen that many problems are involved, and that it is extremely difficult to reach certainty in regard to what is authentic Manetho and what is spurious or corrupt. The problems are discussed in detail by Richard Laqueur in his valuable and exhaustive article in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *R.-E.* s.v. Manethon; and it may be sufficient here to quote his summary of the results of his researches in regard to Manetho (1) in Josephus, and (2) in the Christian Chronographers.

(1) Manetho in Josephus, *Contra Apionem* , I (see Fr. 42, 50, 54).

“(a) Extracts from the genuine Manetho appear in §§ 75-82, 84-90, 94-102A, 232-249, 251. Of these passages, §§ 75-82, 94-102A, 237-249 are quoted *verbatim* , the others are given in Indirect Speech.

“(b) A rationalistic critique of the genuine Manetho was written by a Hellenist, and was used by Josephus for his work. The remains of this critique appear in §§ 254-261, 267-269, 271-274, 276-277. Perhaps §§ 102B-103 is connected with these.

“(c) The authoritative work of Manetho was further exploited by Jews and Egyptians in the mutual polemic, in the course of which additions to Manetho's works were made: these additions were partly favourable to the Jews (§§ 83, 91), partly hostile to the Jews (§ 250). These passages, like those mentioned in (b) , were collected before the time of Josephus into a

single treatise, so that one could no longer clearly recognize what had belonged to Manetho and what was based upon additions.

“(d) Josephus originally knew only the genuine Manetho (*cf.* (a)), and used him throughout as a witness against the aggressors of Judaism. In this it was of importance for Josephus to show that the Hyksôs had come to Egypt from abroad, that their expulsion took place long before the beginning of Greek history, and that they, in their expedition to aid the Lepers, remained untainted by them.

“(e) After Josephus had completed this elaboration, he came later to know the material mentioned in (b) and (c): so far as it was favourable to the Jews or helpful in interpretation, it led only to short expansions of the older presentation; so far, however, as it was hostile to the Jews, Josephus found himself induced to make a radical change in his attitude towards Manetho. He attacked Manetho sharply for his alleged statement (§ 250), and at the same time used the polemic mentioned in (b) in order to overthrow Manetho’s authority in general.

“(f) From the facts adduced it follows that Manetho’s work was already before the time of Josephus the object of numerous literary analyses.”

Cf. the following summary.

(2) Manetho in the Christian Chronographers.

“(a) Not long after the appearance of Manetho’s work, an *Epitome* was made, giving excerpts from the Dynasty-Lists and increasing these from 30 to 31. The possibility that other additions were made is not excluded.

“(b) The *Epitome* was remodelled by a Hellenistic Jew in such a way that the Jewish chronology became compatible with that of Manetho.

“(c) A descendant of version (a) is extant in Julius Africanus: a descendant of version (b), in Eusebius.”

The *Chronicle* of Africanus in five books is lost except for what is preserved in the extracts made by Eusebius, and the many fragments

contained in the works of Syncellus and Cedrenus, and in the *Paschale Chronicon* . For Eusebius we have several lines of transmission. The Greek text of Eusebius has come down to us in part, as quoted by Syncellus; but the whole work is known through (1) the Armenian Version, which was composed in the 5c A.D. from a revision of the first Greek text, and is, of course, quite independent of Syncellus; and (2) the Latin Version made by Jerome towards the end of the fourth century.

Possible Sources of the Αἰγυπτιακά

An Egyptian high priest, learned in Greek literature, had an unrivalled opportunity, in early Ptolemaic times, of writing an excellent and accurate history of Egypt. He had open access to records of all kinds — papyri in the temple archives (annals, sacred books containing liturgies and poems), hieroglyphic tablets, wall sculptures, and innumerable inscriptions. These records no one but an Egyptian priest could consult and read; and only a scholar who had assimilated the works of Greek historians could make a judicious and scientific use of the abundant material. It is hardly to be expected, however, that Manetho's *History* should possess more worth than that of his sources; and the material at his disposal included a certain proportion of unhistorical traditions and popular legends.

There is no possibility of identifying the particular records from which Manetho compiled his *History* : the following are the kinds of monuments which he may have consulted and from which we derive a means of controlling his statements.

(1) *The Royal List of Abydos* , on the wall of a corridor of the Temple of Sethôs I at Abydos, gives in chronological order a series of seventy-six kings from Mênês to Sethôs I. Dynasties XIII to XVII are lacking. A mutilated duplicate of this list was found in the Temple of Ramessês II at Abydos (now in the British Museum: see *Guide* ,): it arranges the kings in three rows, while the more complete list has them in two rows.

(2) *The Royal List of Karnak* (now in the Louvre) has a list of kings, originally sixty-one, from Mênês down to Tuthmôsis III, Dynasty XVIII, with many names belonging to the Second Intermediate Period (Dynasties XIII-XVII).

The Royal Lists of Abydos and Karnak give the tradition of Upper Egypt.

(3) *The Royal List of Sakkâra* (found in a tomb at Sakkâra, and now in the Cairo Museum) preserves the cartouches of forty-seven (originally fifty-eight) kings previous to, and including, Ramessês II. It begins with Miebîs, the sixth king of Dynasty I; and like *The Royal List of Abydos*, it omits Dynasties XIII-XVII. Like (4) the *Turin Papyrus*, the *Royal List of Sakkâra* gives the tradition of Lower Egypt.

(4) More important than any of the preceding is the *Turin Papyrus*, written in hieratic on the *verso* of the papyrus, with accounts of the time of Ramessês II on the *recto* (which gives the approximate date, c. 1200 B.C.). In its original state the papyrus must have been an artistically beautiful exemplar, as the script is an exceptionally fine one. It contains the names of kings in order, over 300 when complete, with the length of each reign in years, months, and days; and as the definitive edition of the papyrus has not yet been issued, further study is expected to yield additional results. The papyrus begins, like Manetho, with the dynasty of gods, followed by mortal kings also in dynasties. The change of dynasty is noted, and the sum of the reigns is given: also, as in Manetho, several dynasties are added together, e.g. "Sum of the Kings from Mênês to [Unas]" at the end of Dynasty V. The arrangement in the papyrus is very similar to that in the *Epitome* of Manetho.

(5) *The Palermo Stone* takes us back to a much greater antiquity: it dates from the Fifth Dynasty, c. 2600 B.C., and therefore contains Old Egyptian annals of the kings. The Stone or Stele was originally a large slab of black diorite, about 7 feet long and over 2 feet high; but only a fragment of the middle of the slab is preserved in the Museum of Palermo, while smaller pieces of this, or of a similar monument, have been identified in the Cairo Museum and in University College, London. Although the text is unfortunately fragmentary, this early document is clearly seen to be more closely related to the genuine Manetho than are the Kings' Lists of later

date (1, 2, 3, 4 above). In a space marked off on each side by a year-sign and therefore denoting one year, notable events are given in an upper section of the space and records of the Nile-levels in a lower. A change of reign is denoted by a vertical line prolonging the year-sign above, on each side of which a certain number of months and days is recorded — on one side those belonging to the deceased king, and on the other to his successor. In the earliest Dynasties the years were not numbered, but were named after some important event or events, *e.g.* “the year of the smiting of the ’Inw,” “the year of the sixth time of numbering”. Religious and military events were particularly common, just as they are in Manetho. A year-name of King Snefru (Dynasty IV) states that he conquered the Nehesi, and captured 7000 prisoners and 200,000 head of cattle: *cf.* Manetho, Fr. 7, on the foreign expedition of Mênês. So, too, under Shepseskaf, the last king of Dynasty IV, the building of a pyramid is recorded, and under Dynasties I, IV, and VI, Manetho makes mention of pyramid-building. It is especially noteworthy that the first line of the Palermo Stone gives a list of kings before Mênês: *cf.* the *Turin Papyrus* , as quoted on Fr. 1. (For the Cairo fragments see Sethe, *op. cit.*).

* * * * *

In regard to Manetho’s relation to his Greek predecessors in the field of Egyptian history, we know that he criticized Herodotus, not, as far as we can tell, in a separate work, but merely in passages of his *History* . In none of the extant fragments does Manetho mention by name Hecataeus of Abdera, but it is interesting to speculate upon Manetho’s relation to this Greek historian. The *floruit* of Hecataeus fell in the time of Alexander and Ptolemy son of Lagus (Gutschmid gives 320 B.C. as an approximate estimate); and it is very doubtful whether he lived to see the reign of Philadelphus, who came to the throne in 285 B.C. (Jacoby in *R.-E.* VII.2,

2750). His *Aegyptiaca* was “a philosophical romance,” describing “an ethnographical Utopia”: it was no history of Egypt, but a work with a philosophical tendency. Manetho and Hecataeus are quoted together, *e.g.* by Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris*, and, perhaps from an intermediary writer who used the works of both Manetho and Hecataeus. If we assume that Hecataeus wrote his “romance” before Manetho composed his *History*, perhaps one of the purposes of Manetho was to correct the errors of his predecessor. No criticism of Hecataeus, however, has been attributed to Manetho; and it is natural that similarities are found in their accounts (*cf.*, n. 2). Be that as it may, Hecataeus enjoyed greater popularity among the Greeks than Manetho: they preferred his “romance” to Manetho’s more reliable annals. Yet Manetho’s *Aegyptiaca* has no claim to be regarded as a critical history: its value lies in the dynastic skeletons which serve as a framework for the evidence of the monuments, and it has proved in its essentials the accepted scheme of Egyptian chronology. But there were many errors in Manetho’s work from the very beginning: all are not due to the perversions of scribes and revisers. Many of the lengths of reigns have been found impossible: in some cases the names and the sequence of kings as given by Manetho have proved untenable in the light of monumental evidence. If one may depend upon the extracts preserved in Josephus, Manetho’s work was not an authentic history of Egypt, exact in its details, as the *Chaldaïca* of Bêrôssos was, at least for later times. Manetho introduced into an already corrupted series of dynastic lists a number of popular traditions written in the characteristic Egyptian style. No genuine historical sense had been developed among the Egyptians, although Manetho’s work does illustrate the influence of Greek culture upon an Egyptian priest. He wrote to correct the errors of Greek historians, especially of Herodotus (see Fr. 88); but from the paucity of information about certain periods, it seems clear that in ancient times, as for us at the

present day, there were obscure eras in Egyptian history. Before the Saïte Dynasty (XXVI) there were three outstanding periods — in Dynasties IV-VI, XI-XII, and XVIII-XX, or roughly the Old Kingdom, the Middle Kingdom, and the New Kingdom (sometimes called the Empire); and these are the periods upon which the light falls in all histories.

The significance of Manetho's writings is that for the first time an Egyptian was seeking to instruct foreigners in the history and religion of his native land.

Other Works attributed to Manetho

To judge by the frequency of quotation, the religious treatises of Manetho were much more popular in Greek circles than the *History of Egypt* was; yet the fragments surviving from these works (Fr. 76-88) are so meagre that no distinct impression of their nature can be gained. The *Sacred Book* (Fr. 76-81) was doubtless a valuable exposition of the details of Egyptian religion, as well as of the mythological elements of Egyptian theology. It testifies to the importance of the part played by Manetho in support of Ptolemy Sôter's vigorous policy of religious syncretism. It seems probable that the *Sacred Book* was Manetho's main contribution in aid of this policy: it may have been the result of a definite commission by the king, in order to spread a knowledge of Egyptian religion among the Greeks. That an Egyptian priest should seek to instruct the Greek-speaking world of his time in the history of Egypt and in the religious beliefs of the Egyptians, including festivals, ancient rites and piety in general, and the preparation of kyphi, is not at all surprising: but it seems strange that Manetho should feel called upon, in the third century B.C., to compose an *Epitome of Physical Doctrines* (Fr. 82, 83) with the apparent object of familiarizing the Greeks with Egyptian science. One may conjecture that his special purpose was to give instruction to students of his own.

The Book of Sôthis (Appendix IV)

The *Book of Sôthis* or *The Sôthic Cycle* is transmitted through Syncellus alone. In the opinion of Syncellus, this *Sôthis-Book* was dedicated by Manetho to Ptolemy Philadelphus (see App. I). The king wished to learn the future of the universe, and Manetho accordingly sent to him “sacred books” based upon inscriptions which had been written down by Thôth, the first Hermês, in hieratic script, had been interpreted after the Flood by Agathodaemôn, son of the second Hermês and father of Tat, and had been deposited in the sanctuaries of the temples of Egypt. The letter which purports to have accompanied the “sacred books” is undoubtedly a forgery; but the *Sôthis-Book* is significant for the textual transmission of Manetho. According to the LXX the Flood took place in Anno Mundi 2242 (see Frags. 2, 6: App. III ,). This date must close the prehistoric period in Egypt and in Chaldea: the 11,985 years of the Egyptian gods are therefore regarded as months and reduced to 969 years. Similarly, the 858 years of the demigods are treated as quarter-years or periods of three months, thus becoming $214\frac{1}{2}$ years: total, $969 + 214\frac{1}{2} = 1183\frac{1}{2}$ years (Fr. 2). In Chaldean prehistory, by fixing the saros at 3600 days, 120 saroi become 1183 years 6 $\frac{5}{6}$ months. Accordingly, the beginning of Egyptian and Babylonian history is placed at 2242-1184, or 1058 Anno Mundi: in that year (or in 1000, Fr. 2) falls the coming of the Egregori, who finally by their sins brought on the Flood. The *Book of Sôthis* begins with the reign of Mestraïm, Anno Mundi 2776 (App. IV , : App. III ,), *i.e.* 534 years after the Flood, and continues to the year 4986, which gives 2210 years of Egyptian rule — almost the same number as Manetho has in either Book I or Book II of his *History of Egypt* .

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For further works and articles relating to Manetho, see the article by Laqueur, Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *R.-E* .

MSS.

Syncellus

A = 1711 of Paris (dated A.D. 1021), used by Scaliger and Goar, the first two editors. Editions: Paris, 1652; Venice, 1729.

B = 1764 of Paris — a much better MS. than A.

G signifies readings of Goar.

m signifies conjectures and notes in the margin of Goar's edition.

Eusebius, *Chronica* (Armenian Version)

G = Codex Hierosolymitanus (see Intro., n. 2).

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Hafniensis, No. 1570, at Copenhagen, fifteenth century.

Bigotianus, known from readings transmitted by Emericus Bigotius.

Quotations from Eusebius (A.D. 264-340), sometimes best preserved in the Armenian version.

Lat. = Latin version made by order of Cassiodorus, the minister of Theodoric, c. A.D. 540.

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NOTE

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In a work which brings before the mind's eye a long series of the Kings of Egypt, the editor would have liked to refer interested readers to some book containing a collection of portraits of these kings; but it seems that, in spite of the convenience and interest which such a book would possess, no complete series of royal portraits has yet been published. For a certain number of portrait-sketches (25 in all), skilfully created from existing mummies and ancient representations, see Winifred Brunton, *Kings and Queens of Ancient Egypt* (1924), and *Great Ones of Ancient Egypt* (1929).

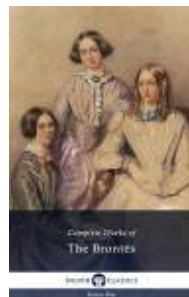
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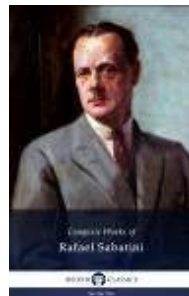
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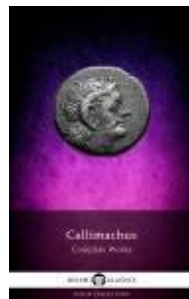
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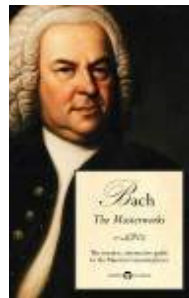
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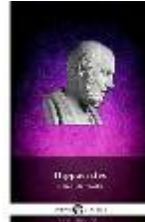
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Diodorus Siculus
Diogenes Laërtius
Dionysius of Halicarnassus
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E. Phillips Oppenheim
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Edgar Wallace
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Ernest Bramah
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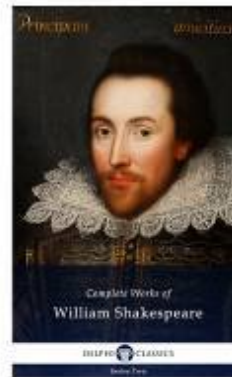
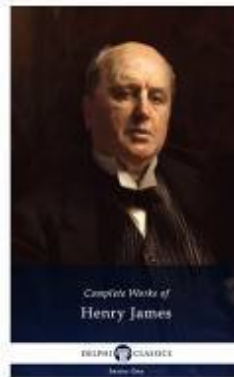
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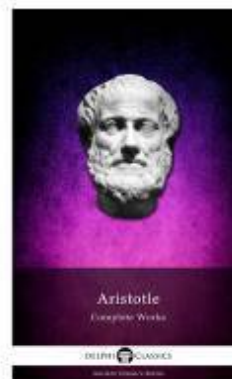
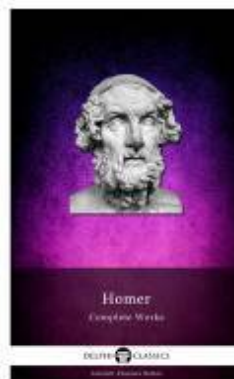
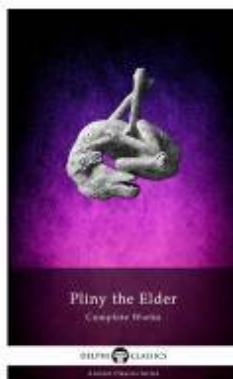
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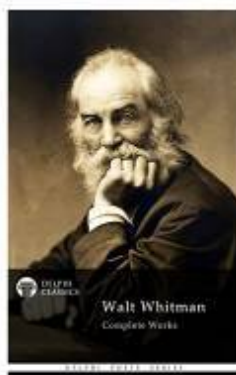
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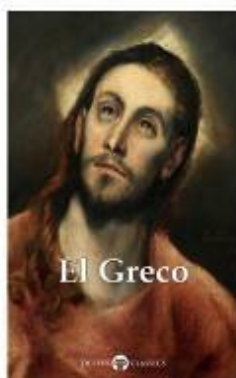
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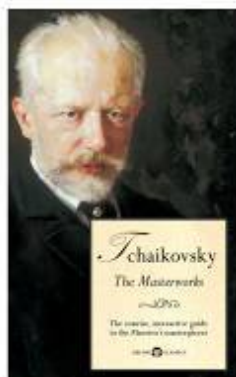
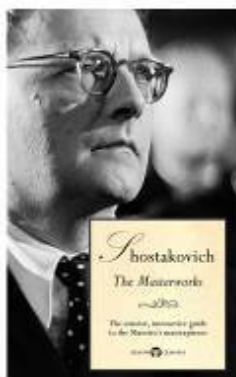
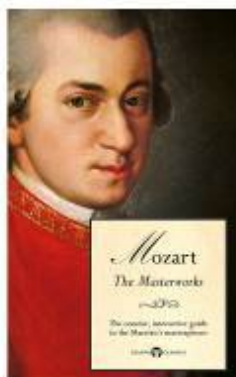
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